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MARCUS A. HANNA

(LATE A SENATOR FROM OHIO)

Memorial Addresses Delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives

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Second Session of the Fifty-Eighth Congress

April 7—24, 1904

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Given by
Mrs E. V. Cox
Washington D. C.

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DEATH OF SENATOR MARCUS A. HANNA

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

TUESDAY, *February 16, 1904.*

THE PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, offered the following prayer:

"For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

"Behold, I shew you a mystery," he writes. I make plain to you that that has been a mystery.

"We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, * * * for this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."

Father, these who have known him best, these who have loved him, they come to thee to ask thy strength for weakness, for light in darkness, and that thou wilt interpret unto them the lessons of life and death. All of us, Father, who knew him to love him and to honor him, we are altogether, with those nearest to him in his home, in

the sorrows of this hour. Come near to us as only our Father can come near to us. Show us what it is to be the immortal children of an eternal God. Train us to new service and larger service when we go from world to world or from life to life, to be with thee in this infinite heaven of thine.

Father, we pray for this nation, that she may always have counselors from the midst of her, men who know her people and who know the world and are willing to join with one heart and with one voice that this may be the kingdom of thy love. Be with us in our sorrows as thou hast been in our joys. We ask it in Christ Jesus.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Amen.

THE JOURNAL.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. Aldrich and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Journal will stand approved.

DEATH OF SENATOR HANNA.

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, I have a painful duty to perform. It is that of making formal announcement of the death of my late colleague, Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA. He

departed this life in this city, at the Arlington Hotel, where he had been residing during this session of the Senate, at the hour of 6.40 p. m. yesterday, surrounded by his family and immediate friends.

The event was not unexpected at the time when it occurred. For months past it has been evident to all who were associated with him that he was in failing health.

He was urgently and repeatedly advised to desist from his labors and make a special effort to resist his maladies, but his strong will power, hopeful nature, and fidelity to duty were such that he disregarded all such suggestions and continued at his post until about three weeks ago, when he was prostrated by typhoid fever.

His friends then became justly alarmed. That alarm spread throughout the country, and in response to unusual manifestations of public sympathy his physicians bulletined his condition daily, and, finally, almost hourly.

As the days passed hope failed, until all recognized that the "inevitable hour" was approaching.

Thus it was that the end did not come as a surprise, but the regret it has occasioned appears to be more profound and universal on that account.

His bereaved family have been the recipients of messages and telegrams of grief and condolence from all sections and from all classes.

He is mourned by all his countrymen—by his political associates not alone because he was their great organizing leader who repeatedly led them to victory, but also and more especially because he had gained their affections and reigned in their hearts as a favorite; by his political

opponents because they are so chivalrous and generous that they experience sorrow when a brave man falls, though he be of the opposition, and because they recognized in him a bold and fearless foeman who commanded their respect and excited their admiration.

Here in the Senate, where he was so long a distinguished member, he was best known and most appreciated.

It is unnecessary to speak in this presence of the great loss his death has occasioned to his party, his State, and the nation. All know it better than any language can express it.

Mr. President, this is not the time for extended eulogy. Later, I shall ask the Senate to set apart a day when all his colleagues can join with me in paying fitting tribute to his life, character, and public services.

For the present I content myself with offering the resolutions I send to the desk, for which I ask present consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio submits resolutions, which the Secretary will read to the Senate.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-five Senators, of whom the President pro tempore shall be one, be appointed by the presiding officer to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. HANNA, which shall take place in the Senate Chamber at 12 o'clock m. on Wednesday, February 17, instant, and that the Senate will attend the same.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect his remains be removed from Washington to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, attended by the committee, who shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect; and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these proceedings to the House of Representatives and invite the House of Representatives to attend the funeral in the Senate Chamber and to appoint a committee to act with the committee of the Senate.

Resolved, That invitations be extended to the President of the United States and the members of his Cabinet, the Chief Justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the diplomatic corps (through the Secretary of State), the Admiral of the Navy, and the Lieutenant-General of the Army to attend the funeral in the Senate Chamber.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Ohio.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore appointed as the committee under the second resolution Mr. Foraker, Mr. Allison, Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Hale, Mr. Platt of Connecticut, Mr. Spooner, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Wetmore, Mr. Hansbrough, Mr. Warren, Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Depew, Mr. Kean, Mr. Scott, Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Alger, Mr. Kittredge, Mr. Gorman, Mr. Cockrell, Mr. Teller, Mr. Bacon, Mr. Martin, Mr. Blackburn, and Mr. McEnery.

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, I move, as a further mark of respect to the deceased, that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, February 17, 1904, at 12 o'clock meridian.

WEDNESDAY, *February 17, 1904.*

FUNERAL OF SENATOR HANNA

The casket containing the body of the dead Senator was brought into the Senate Chamber, accompanied by the committees of arrangements of the two Houses.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock m.

The Members of the House of Representatives, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms and the Clerk and by the Speaker, entered the Senate Chamber. The Speaker was escorted to a seat on the left of the President pro tempore, the Sergeant-at-Arms and Clerk were assigned to seats at the Secretary's desk, and the Members of the House were given the seats on the floor provided for them. They were soon followed by the ambassadors of and ministers from foreign countries, the Chief Justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court, and the Admiral of the Navy and the Lieutenant-General of the Army, who occupied the seats assigned them. The President of the United States and his Cabinet ministers and the family of the deceased Senator entered the Chamber and were shown to the seats reserved for them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore said: Senators, you have solemnly and lovingly dedicated this day to an observance of appropriate funeral ceremonies over MARCUS A. HANNA, late a distinguished member of this body, and all business will be suspended to that end. We will unite in prayer with the Chaplain of the National House of Representatives.

Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., Chaplain of the House of Representatives, offered the following prayer:

With bowed head and sorrowing heart, O God, our Heavenly Father, we meet here in the solemn presence of the dead to pay a tribute of respect to a strong, great, honest, noble, manly man, warm in his affection, tender in his devotion to his friends and family, broad in his conceptions, strong in his convictions, a patriot and a statesman, a leader among the leaders of our nation. He lived well, wrought well, and died mourned by a nation, than which no greater tribute can be offered to any man. The floral offerings so abundant, from the high, the lowly, the rich, the poor, testify more eloquently than words of his work and his faithfulness to duty.

We thank thee for his life and deeds. May his example be an inspiration to the young men of our nation, and his deeds be a cherished memory to us all; illumine our minds with the truth of the immortality of the soul, and inspire us with the hope that we shall dwell with him some time in the realms of bliss.

Comfort, we beseech thee, as thou alone canst comfort, the bereaved wife and family, and bring us all, in thine own good time, to thee, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The Chaplain of the Senate, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, said:

Those who knew him best loved him most, and those who knew him least loved him much.

It has been impossible to us who are almost strangers to him in person to live through these anxious days through which we have been passing without feeling that here was

a token of affection as well as of admiration and regret. Whether the child that cried when he told you that Mr. HANNA was not so strong, or the statesmen, who are used to the greatest questions in the management of this world, everybody spoke with this feeling of affection, as if this were a near friend to whom he was paying tribute.

And this nation to-day is paying its tribute to his affection, to his love, to that energy which springs from affection and love, as it could not if these were mere tricks of mental ability, if this were any selfishness of a man thinking of himself first and last. It is a tribute to one who forgot himself in his care for others, eager to lift up those who had fallen down, and determined that the right thing should be done. If he were the man to do it, he would do it, with no thought of himself, but with thoughts of his countrymen and of the world.

I met some years ago a distinguished missionary from the other side of the world, from one of those nations whose religions were coming into fashion here over half a century ago. He said to me of the people among whom he had lived that "they loved the Lord their God with all their mind and with all their heart, perhaps, but they did not love Him with all their strength."

I have had that contrast running in my mind all this week. For here is a man who did his duty with all his heart and with all his strength, never thinking of himself, not eager to see what it was to be to him or what it would be to this or that man, but bearing his brother's burden; eager to see this go forward, determined it shall go forward—acting with that energy which comes from love alone, which

comes from the heart, which comes with every man's thought of God and of his fellow-men, and comes from nothing and nobody besides.

It is not the energy of a Napoleon trying to do what will put him forward, which is like any other calamity in human life. It is the energy of Love, of one who has found out what faith and hope and love are, and who dedicates himself to the Eternities.

I can not but hope that this highest range of human life may open to those young men who are growing up now, that they may follow in his footsteps, in his resolve to live, not with that poor, selfish energy, bred from selfish reason, bred from imagination, bred from memory, where if a man dies he dies out as Napoleon or any other calamity dies out. If he lives by the eternities, no, no.

Among the promises of the Israelites one of the noblest prophets says of the glorious future which is to come to the world, "Their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them." Enthusiasm, indeed, that might arouse among those oppressed Israelites who heard your governors are not to be altar-bred Levites, coming down from the centuries before them. No more incompetent striplings on the throne born from an incompetent father who came from an incompetent grandfather in some line of centuries through all the miserable stages, "bad by degrees, but miserably worse." Your ruler shall come from the midst of them. Your rulers shall proceed from yourselves.

It is no wonder that our Revolutionary leaders caught up that verse. Cooper preached a sermon from that text

in 1780, which Franklin translated into French and into German and scattered broadcast through Europe—the first "campaign document" of the newborn Republic, the lesson of republicanism, the lesson of democracy. It announced to man that theory of government, "the government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

You see it is radical; it goes to the complete distinction between the old system and the new. The old theory was of the Cæsars taking care of the Cæsars, or an army taking care of an army and legislating for an army, or, as they say they do on the other side of the world, the grammarians taking care of the grammarians. But when "we, the people," are at the helm, why, "we, the people," take care of "us, the people," of the whole and not of a class or an order. Here is a Government "for the people and by the people," and in Mr. HANNA you have a man of the people who really believes in such democracy or the purpose of any republic. If you want Benjamin Franklin, take Benjamin Franklin, though it be from a tallow chandler's shop. If you want Abraham Lincoln, you shall have Abraham Lincoln. In that comes the system for which he had consecrated himself, to which he was allied, and in which he was looking forward, working heartily through all his career.

I remember in the canvass eight years ago a distinguished leader of enterprise met with one of the campaign speakers of the summer and said to him, "Tell me, who is this Cleveland man—this man who seems to have the reins in his hands?" And the accomplished gentlemen whom he addressed said: "This Cleveland man is a man who is going to elevate politics to the level of those men of

business who are men of honor." I wonder if either of them remembers the conversation now. That described Mr. HANNA then. That is the duty of the statesman of to-day—of the manager, if you please to call him so, of to-day—that he shall elevate the duty of the day to the standard of the men of honor who are engaged in business.

It is for a people that you are caring, not for a class. Government means that the post-office shall be well administered, that the sanitary conditions of the people shall be well administered, that what they drink shall be pure, that what they eat shall not be poison for them. It is the people who have sent you to this work, and it is as you love the people or as you love yourself alone that you are going to succeed or that you are going to fail.

This man was one of the people. He loved the people. What he did he did for his love of the people, and he knew—because he was one of them, because he had succeeded in business—he knew what are the eternities. He knew that a round bolt would not fit a square hole in the side of a steamship. Truth. He knew that iron was to be drawn by this law or by that law and that it must be welded by law and well done.

The man of business honor knows that his word must be as good as his bond, and unless I do the duty God has given me with an eager love of those around me, "Ah, woe is me!"

When men tell us, as those men do who know, that this man could mediate between the men who provide the tools and the workmen who handle them; this man had at once, as no other man had, the confidence of capital and labor,

you understand what worked that miracle. You can work it yourself.

Honor! Truth! Love! And as the man of business, if he be a man of honor, has found that high law which centuries have found is the only law—as he applies that in the business of the nation he wins for the eternities faith, hope, and love. These three abide.

"Let us praise famous men. Let us look back now to the fathers." These are the words written nearly two thousand years ago.

The Chaplain of the Senate read appropriate passages from the Old and the New Testament, at the conclusion of which he said:

Let us pray. Father of Life, he is with thee. He sees as he is seen. He knows as he is known. But we wait a little longer. We need not pray for him. He prays for us in the glad certainties of the larger life, and we go and come, remembering him and looking forward to our meeting with him in thy time.

Father, may every memory of him quicken us to a larger life, and every thought of the future show us how we are to meet all these dear ones who have gone before, how we are to see as we are seen and to know as we are known.

We ask thy blessing upon those so near to him in the home, where they will not hear his whisper nor see his face. And we are all brothers and sisters in the house of death. We ask it each for all and all for each, that we may bear each other's burdens, even as we have not done until now; that we may be strong in each other's strength; that we may walk, Father, with thee; that every

day we may hear thy whisper and go and come in thy perfect love.

Grant us more of faith in thee, that we may see thee who art invisible; that we may hear thee in the whispers of thy love, speaking to us in our own lives; that thou wilt inspirit us with thine own Holy Spirit; that we may enter into that service which is perfect freedom; that we may do the duty every day which thou doth command, and that never more we may feel alone, but always may know our Father is with us.

Give us more of hope, that we may look forward as immortals do look forward; that we may live as immortals live; that we may enter into thy work indeed, because thou hast given it to us to do; that we may partake of thy nature and live in heaven to-day, to-morrow, and in the days that are to come; that we may speak with thy word; that we may think with thy thought; that we may love with thy love, and be glad with thy joy. Give us more of hope.

And for this, Father, that we may bear one another's burdens; that we may remember the lessons of such a life as his; that we may forget ourselves while we live for others; that we may go about doing good as He, thy well-beloved Son, in the homes of the sick and the poor and the weak as in the homes of the rich and the powerful and the strong. Knit together in love, may we bear each other's burdens, and so fulfill the whole law of Christ.

Reverently, humbly, and with the tears of the nation we bear his body and lay it in the ground, earth to earth, dust to dust, ashes to ashes. But he is with God ever. He is

changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. He is in the larger life.

Father, we pray that we may learn the lessons of that life as we go and come here; that we may go about the work that thou hast given us to-day and to-morrow, and that we may be ready at any moment to hear the whisper coming to us that we may enter into the joy of our Lord.

This is our prayer. Hear us, answer us, and bless us as thine own children, in Christ Jesus. Amen.

The hymn "Nearer, my God to Thee" was sung by the quartette of the Gridiron Club, composed of Mr. Herndon Morsell, Mr. J. Henry Kaiser, Mr. Alexander Mosher, and Mr. John H. Nolan.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore said: We commit the body of our beloved Senator now to the two committees of the Houses of Congress and to the officers of the Senate, to be conveyed to his late home in Ohio and to his final resting place. May God sanctify his life and death to us, who loved him well.

The benediction was pronounced by the Chaplain of the Senate.

The invited guests having retired from the Senate Chamber,

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 18, 1904, at 12 o'clock meridian.

FEBRUARY 18, 1904.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

The message also transmitted to the Senate the resolutions of the House of Representatives on the death of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

The message further announced that the Speaker had appointed Mr. Grosvenor, Mr. Van Voorhis, Mr. Burton, Mr. Southard, Mr. Dick, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Beidler, Mr. Cassingham, Mr. Hildebrant, Mr. Kyle, Mr. Nevin, Mr. Snook, Mr. Warnock, Mr. Badger, Mr. Garber, Mr. Goebel, Mr. Jackson of Ohio, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Longworth, Mr. Weems, Mr. Hemenway, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Lucking, Mr. Wiley of Alabama, Mr. Dalzell, Mr. Watson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Currier, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Rodenberg, Mr. McCleary of Minnesota, and Mr. Calderhead as the committee on the part of the House to take charge of the funeral arrangements.

MARCH 5, 1904.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR HANNA

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, I desire to give notice to the Senate that at the close of the routine morning business on Thursday, March 31, I shall ask the Senate to consider resolutions commemorative of the life and character of my late colleague, the Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA.

MARCH 26, 1904.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR HANNA

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, a notice has been heretofore given that on Thursday, March 31, immediately after

the routine morning business, the Senate would be asked to consider resolutions commemorative of the life, character, and public services of the late Senator HANNA, of Ohio. On account of the inconvenience to some who desire to speak on the occasion, growing out of that date being fixed, I now recall that notice and give notice that those resolutions will be presented to the Senate on Thursday, April 7, immediately after the routine morning business.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

THURSDAY, *April 7, 1904.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, offered the following prayer:

Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.

The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

* * * * * * *

Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions.

* * * * * * *

All these were honored in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

There be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

And some there be which have no memorial; who are perished, as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them.

But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.

* * * * * * *

The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth their praise.

Let us pray. Almighty Father, we thank thee for everthing; but this morning, first of all, for our fathers who begat us, for those from whom we spring, for the men who made the Constitution of this nation, for the men who first sat in this Senate, who led this people by their wisdom, by their counsel, by their foresight, and by their love of God.

They are remembered by name or they are not remembered. But their righteousness shall never be forgotten, and we, the sons, will not be faithless to their memory. First of all, in this Senate, to the men who made the first rules for this great nation, men who listened to God and heard Him, men who were pure and peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good works, without partisanship and without hypocrisy.

And now, Father, for to-day and for to-morrow and the days that are to come, be with the children as thou hast been with the fathers. Make the children move, as so many of the fathers moved, in the way of God. Show them thy law, that they may make it our law; that we may translate the will of God into the will of men; that thy kingdom may come and thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven. We ask it in Christ Jesus. Amen.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. May thy kingdom come, may thy will be done, on earth as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR HANNA

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, in accordance with the notice heretofore given, I now present the resolutions I send to the desk, and ask for their present consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolutions submitted by the Senator from Ohio will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Address of Mr. Foraker, of Ohio

Mr. President: I first met Senator Hanna at the national Republican convention of 1884, to which he was a delegate at large. The other three delegates at large from Ohio to that convention were William McKinley, jr., Judge William H. West, and myself. McKinley and West supported Mr. Blaine, while Mr. Hanna and I were for John Sherman. Mr. Sherman was the first choice of very few delegates to that convention, but many of his friends thought he was the second choice of a majority.

While, therefore, the Ohio delegation was divided, and there was but little "first-choice" support from other States, there was good ground for hope that out of the possibilities of the situation our candidate might be chosen.

This fact encouraged us to labor industriously to make acquaintances and to bring about combinations that would be helpful to our cause.

Mr. Hanna was then a young man, only 40 years of age. He was in the zenith of his powers, both mental and physical. He was tireless in his efforts, pleasing in his manners, and direct and forceful in the advocacy of Mr. Sherman's claims, and in all these respects he impressed himself most favorably upon all with whom he came in contact. But he lacked then the name and influence he afterwards acquired. He was known only as a business man, who had never held an office of any kind, and who

had never figured in public affairs, except in his own city and county, and he was really still a new man there.

He had been chosen as a delegate at large not because he was a factor in State politics, for he had not yet become such, but only because he was a strong man in his own county, and that county put him forward to represent it on the delegation, and the Republicans of the State accepted him on that indorsement.

It was on account of such circumstances and for such reasons that his efforts in behalf of Mr. Sherman, although earnest and zealous, were yet of but little avail.

In connection with those efforts, however, I became familiarly acquainted with him, and as a result of that experience we became warm friends, both politically and personally.

That friendship was uninterrupted until shortly prior to the national Republican convention of 1888, to which we were both again delegates, and as such once more united in the support of Mr. Sherman.

In connection with that convention incidents occurred which, together with minor differences that arose shortly before, entirely interrupted our relations for the next three years, when in a modified and less cordial way they were resumed and thereafter continued until his death.

These relations were less cordial than previously, because although we at times heartily cooperated and in a personal and social way were entirely friendly, yet in political matters we were generally opposed to each other in the factional contests and controversies among the Republicans of our State.

His relations to McKinley are well known. They were such that when McKinley became President and he became Senator he naturally and inevitably became dominant in Ohio politics.

I mention all this not to review or to revive the past, much less to discuss the merits of its disputes, but only to show the many points of view from which it was my fortune to know and study the man.

In the grave with him lie buried all differences, all hostilities, all animosities, all prejudices, and all unkindness of feeling of every sort that ever at any time may have been entertained.

I would not discuss anything of such a nature on this occasion if I could, and I could not do so with propriety if I would. Here and now all criticism should be hushed, except only that which may be an inseparable part of his actual life, character, and public services.

He would not, if he could, have it otherwise, for, if I knew him and understood him, I hazard nothing in saying that if he could have a voice as to the character of this day's exercises, he would not countenance false praise nor wish to have ascribed to him virtues he did not even profess to have.

He had too much sense of propriety, too much regard for truth, and too much confidence and pride in what he really was to desire to be painted here or elsewhere in other than true colors. Happily for his memory these colors are sufficiently bright.

Having expressed this belief, it is hardly necessary to say that I shall not consciously exaggerate in what I may say

of him, but rather strive to speak only the words of sober truth.

To those who knew him only as I knew him for the first four years of our acquaintance he was an unusually lovable man. He was bright, cheery, generous, kind, strong, and ever ready to practice self-denial, especially when it involved the preferment of a friend.

These qualities were so pronounced and so manifest that none others could well be seen by those who looked through only the partial eyes of friendship.

By these traits and habits he naturally made such ardent friends of all with whom he met that it was easy for them to think and believe that if he had differences with anyone or met with opposition from anyone, it must have been without fault on his part.

In some measure—perhaps in large measure—this may have been true. Whether it was always the case is immaterial, so far as present purposes are concerned. The fact is mentioned not to controvert or discuss it, but only to show his charming and powerful qualities in this regard.

But while he thus appeared to his friends and to all who were in accord with him and had no occasion to know him except in agreeable relations, he appeared to have some additional and less agreeable characteristics to those who were so unfortunate as to be in opposition to him concerning any matter he deemed important.

To all such he was the very impersonation of antagonism itself.

He had such strong convictions that he always felt impelled in such cases to contend with all his energy and

powers for the views he entertained and the cause he espoused.

In all such contests he invariably battled fiercely and unrelentingly to the end, spurning all compromises and stopping at nothing honorable short of unqualified success.

He was so constituted by nature that he could not easily do otherwise.

As a result, he seldom resorted to diplomacy or to any kind of effort to placate or mollify opposition, but relied on the logic of hard knocks.

Like Napoleon, he believed that the way to win victories was to have the heaviest artillery and plenty of it, and to make vigorous use of it.

While this policy made many enemies, it also made legions of friends and inspired them with confidence and affectionate admiration.

He reciprocated this devotion to such an extent that he never hesitated to support his followers in their troubles or to help them fight their battles, without much regard to their character.

This at times brought criticism upon him, but he never faltered on that account.

He could only see the friendship he had enjoyed, and refused to believe that the man who bore him attachment could be unworthy of his assistance.

Only a man of uncommon strength of character, and one possessing the confidence of his fellow-countrymen to an unusual degree, could have done what he so habitually did in this respect without serious injury to his reputation, but with him it came to be regarded as a virtue.

Combined with these characteristics he was blessed with an extraordinary intellectual endowment, a powerful physique and a pleasing personality, an agreeable voice, and an absolute freedom from affectation. His conceptions were quick and remarkably accurate. His judgment was uncommonly good of both men and measures. He had wonderful power of endurance and the faculty of approaching men, although directly and at times almost bluntly, in such a manner as to prepossess them favorably both as to himself and his subject. Few men have been favored with such a rare combination of faculties and powers as he possessed, and yet he lacked qualities ordinarily deemed indispensable to a successful public career.

He was not a scholarly man, nor a student, in the ordinary sense, of public questions, but as though by intuition he comprehended accurately and appreciated fully every problem that arose.

He made no pretensions to any special refinement or culture, but was familiarly at ease in every circle.

History, science, art, and literature were all fields in which he trod but casually, if ever at all, and yet among his warmest friends and most earnest admirers were to be found the most learned of the schools and the professions.

His services in the Senate covered a period of almost seven years. During all this time he was prominent, influential, and helpful in determining policies and shaping legislation of national and international importance and consequence; but he left behind him no statute or other measure of which he was distinctively the author.

In short, although he had deficiencies and probably

disappointed expectations in some respects, he filled a great place among the greatest men of his time, and died respected, beloved, and mourned by all classes of his countrymen.

His greatness was not like that of Webster and Clay, or Lincoln or Blaine or McKinley, for he did not pretend to have the powers or accomplishments that made them so distinguished. He belonged to an altogether different class and type of men. Although a pleasant and agreeable public speaker, unlike them he was not an orator, and did not seek to mold audiences by the persuasive powers of eloquence, nor did he undertake to formulate measures or to solve in statutory form the problems of constructive statesmanship.

His powers were of a different nature. They were of the organizing and executive character. While he had sound judgment and quick perception to enable him to perceive the right of public questions and the policies that should be pursued with respect to them, he also had sound judgment as to how to reach the understandings of men and how to impress upon them the necessities of cooperation and the character of machinery and procedure by which to bring about effective results. Plainly stated, he had uncommon common sense and an almost unnatural knowledge of human nature. He was above all men of his time fitted for the work that fell to him in connection with the nomination and the election of William McKinley to the Presidency.

His training and experience as a business man enabled him to perceive and appreciate the incalculable importance of the questions to be tried before the American people, the

superior qualifications of his candidate to represent his party at that particular time with respect to those questions, and the methods whereby to educate the American people and bring them to a united support of the views that finally prevailed with respect thereto.

This was his great opportunity, and he improved it so thoroughly that he not only excited the affectionate regard of his own party, but also commanded the admiration of his opponents. It was an arduous work well done.

He had the usual experience of men who do great things well.

He was made the target for all the criticisms, abuses, slanders, and libels that malicious ingenuity could invent.

There was no ignoble trait or passion that was not ascribed to him and portrayed of him in the political cartoons and writings of that day. A less strong man would have despaired and been destroyed by it, but he never showed the slightest concern on such account.

Conscious of his power and the ultimate vindication of his purposes, he disregarded them all and went steadily forward upon the lines of duty as he saw it.

He grew not alone with the years, but even with the days. Soon the whole country came to understand that he was one of the really great men of his day and generation. Then the pendulum of public opinion swung quickly in the opposite direction. Misconceptions faded and misrepresentations ceased. Praise succeeded to criticism, and favor followed, until he enjoyed at the hands of the American people a most rare and exceptional esteem and admiration.

He was given a most gratifying evidence of this regard, and one that he fully appreciated, by the people of Ohio at the last election. As the candidate of his party for the Senate he appealed directly for their suffrages, and at the close of a hotly contested campaign was accorded the most triumphant indorsement ever given by that State to any candidate for that office.

He had before him seven years of service, for which he had already been chosen, when the fatal summons came. Had he lived and been blessed with health they would undoubtedly have been years of still greater usefulness and higher honors. With his increased prestige and ripened experience all reasonable achievements were not only possible but probable.

Under such circumstances his death seemed not only untimely, but a most unusual public loss. The whole nation, as well as his family and close friends, experienced a deep sense of bereavement.

It is some consolation to realize that he ran his race well to the end, and that his career, successful throughout, was crowned until its very close with a succession of brilliant triumphs that endeared him to his countrymen and gave him a permanent place of high honor not only in their history, but also in their hearts.

Address of Mr. Scott, of West Virginia

Mr. President:

> To live in hearts we leave behind
> Is not to die.

From childhood on through each succeeding period, among the many with whom we are associated, there are always those to whom we are peculiarly attracted, with whom it is an especial pleasure to be, who seem in some way to belong to us and we to them. These we hold as friends.

In the morning of that day which we call life, the Angel of Death, with noiseless footstep, steals among a group of merry children and bears away the one whom we most love, while we stand by wondering, afraid, and lonely. Without our little friend school is a dreary, cheerless place; we fail in lessons that we knew, because our thoughts are far away. Nor have we heart for play; a shadow falls on every game and robs it of its sport, and every tree and field and brook reminds us of our loneliness. But sorrow does not long weigh down the buoyant, elastic spirit of a child; and so, after a while, someone else slips into the vacant place, and life is glad again.

Years pass. It is the noontime of life's day. Again the unwelcome angel comes and bears beyond our touch and ken our best beloved friend. The pain is keen, the wound

deep. We are restless; and listlessly we take up our round of duties; the charm and zest have fled. To us the sky seems ever gray, and the glad sunshine to have gone forever. Yet this also is a period of elasticity, of ceaseless, virile activity, a period of many interests. So here, too, after a time, there is a rebound. Do we forget? Ah, no! This friendship becomes a sweet, a treasured memory, whose impress we bear through all the years to come.

Time hurries on. We reach the afternoon of life and feel ourselves, though all reluctantly, nearing the twilight. We are more slow than once we were to take on new friendships; but time and the experience of life have given depth and strength to those already formed. Nor do we here escape the visit of the angel. Indeed, he comes more frequently than in the years gone by and bears away those whom we cherish; but into the place of the friend whom death takes from us no new one enters. We are more lonely than we were in childhood or in earlier manhood, more full of yearning; yet is there no vacant place in our heart, for the inspiration of the personality of him whose form has vanished, whose voice is hushed, lives with us still to bless us.

Within a few brief years, thrice has the Angel come and borne away, beyond the dark, mysterious borderland, into that fair country where "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain," those whom I have had the honor to claim as friends—men of noble heart, of breadth of view, of poise of character, whose minds were masterful, whose loyalty knew "no variableness, neither shadow of turning,"—men great

in achievement, who charmed alike the imagination and the heart—Hobart, McKinley, HANNA. And it is to honor the memory of the last of this noble trio, MARCUS A. HANNA, that we are thus met to-day.

When, on the evening of the 15th of February, representatives of the press called upon me and asked for some expression of opinion regarding Senator HANNA, I said: Gentlemen, you must excuse me to-night. As well might you ask me to speak concerning the loss of some dear member of my own household, as to speak at such a time of him whom I have so loved.

All that day I had remained near the room in which he lay ill, hope struggling within me against despair, despair against hope, hope finally yielding to despair. When the word came that to the last grim enemy the great, strong will of the otherwise unconquerable HANNA had bended, and I stood face to face with the fact that the spirit of this brave, true man had gone to return no more forever, grief and desolation filled my heart.

He was a man made to be loved, and he was loved. To-day the world seems lonesome without him. I miss his kindly face, his cordial hand clasp, his genial companionship, his helpful counsel. Sometimes, indeed, it seems as if the very sunshine itself were not so bright and warm as once it was.

I speak because "he was my friend, faithful and just to me;" because I loved him; because his friendship was one of the priceless blessings of my life; and, finally, because to keep silent on this day set apart to do him reverence would seem to savor of disloyalty; not that I can add aught to the rich meed of well-deserved praise that has been accorded

him during these weeks that have gone. I have no gift of eloquence with which to grace a splendid eulogy. Mine is but the simple tribute of a friend—a friend who knows no words commensurate with the mighty flood of feeling that surges through his breast. Those happier in the use of words than I, fellow-Senators—the orators of this honorable body—others brilliant and distinguished in public life, ministers of the gospel, the press, political and various civic organizations, have paid him noble tribute. And yet has he indeed need of these? Are not his own life and character his most eloquent eulogy?

> Nature herself will have no great things hastily formed; in the direct path to all beautiful and conspicuous achievement she heaps up difficulty,

said Rufus Choate. And we have learned, each for himself, only too well the cost of even moderate achievement; we have learned also the cost of loyalty—especially the cost of loyalty in political life. When we remember, therefore, how preeminently Senator HANNA succeeded in every field that engaged his interest and to which he gave his endeavor; when we remember his unswerving loyalty to every cause that he espoused, to every promise that he made, to every friend that he had, we begin to appreciate how phenomenal he was.

The president of perhaps the most powerful railroad system in the United States remarked some months ago that, in the several conversations which it had been his privilege to have with Senator HANNA, he was struck with his comprehensive grasp of subjects to which, it might very naturally have been supposed, he had had but little opportunity to give much consideration; and that touching the question of

transportation, for example, to which day after day and year after year he himself gave his serious thought—which, indeed, was his life study—he had never talked with Senator HANNA without receiving some new idea or some original and valuable suggestion.

His political life was inseparably connected with that of our late beloved President, William McKinley. For many years he had been a warm admirer of McKinley and had supported him with all the ardor of a true friend in his political advancement. When the memorable campaign of 1896 drew near, the demand for McKinley as the candidate of the Republican party became widespread and insistent.

His long and honorable career in the National Congress and as governor of Ohio made him the logical candidate of the party. The country had just passed through a period of disastrous business depression, and financial interests were in a chaotic and demoralized condition. McKinley was the personification of the American policy of protection, and was heralded as the "advance agent of prosperity."

At this juncture there appeared on the horizon a star previously unknown to the political world. It flashed forth through the mists of obscurity with the brilliancy of a meteor, fixed itself in the firmament of political activity, and became the guiding star of the Republican hosts. As a political manager Mr. HANNA was an unknown quantity, and wise men shook their heads with doubt and fear at the sudden ascendency of this new Moses of the party. Many gave utterance to expressions of deprecation, but his friends knew him and trusted him. Mr. HANNA, as I have said, was comparatively unknown in politics; he had never been

a national character in the councils of his party, but he was a man whose name had been linked with success in every field to which his energies had hitherto been directed.

He addressed himself to this new responsibility with characteristic determination and zeal, and more than fulfilled the expectations of his friends. His name became a household word the country over. His great natural ability, coupled with his long and successful experience in the world of affairs, fitted him for his new task and enabled him to master its every detail with a thoroughness and an understanding that gave confidence to those associated with him and excited the wonder and admiration of even his closest friends. His methods were original, and his directness fascinated his political opponents and compelled their respect. He was the right man in the right place.

The splendor of the victory of 1896, following, as it did, one of the fiercest political campaigns the nation had ever experienced, demonstrated that there had been no error in the choice of a leader, and proved that those who placed their faith in Mr. HANNA knew in whom they trusted. It won for him the unbounded confidence of the country at large and made the second decisive victory, gained by the Republican party in 1900 through his wise and conservative leadership, but the realization of general expectation.

Great as these victories were, however, to Mr. HANNA, they brought something of bitterness. His position as chairman of the Republican National Committee made him the target for the most merciless criticism, the most venomous abuse. As the strife grew more heated, the rival campaign orators and newspapers became more and more

inflamed; and, in some instances, all sense of political fairness and of respect for the personal feelings of men seemed to be lost.

Mr. HANNA, the lifelong friend of labor, the kind, genial liberty-loving citizen, the considerate and respected employer of workingmen, the honest, fair-dealing business man, in fact, the true, manly man in every regard, was pictured to the inflamed minds of the masses as a fiend incarnate, a monster, a hard-hearted and cruel crusher of labor. His personal as well as his business life was distorted so as to present him in the most odious light; and for the time he was much misunderstood, much maligned. Outwardly, this abuse did not seem to affect him. He was big enough and broad enough to tower above it, and when the storm was over he stood erect and strong, his integrity unscathed. But inwardly he felt keenly the injustice that had been done him; the sting sank deep into his heart and hurt him to the quick.

I shall never forget one morning during the campaign of 1896 when he handed me a New York paper containing a cartoon of himself pictured as a huge monster, clad in a suit covered over with dollar marks, smoking an immense cigar, and trampling under foot women and children until their eyes protruded from the sockets and their skeleton forms writhed in agony. After I had looked at it for a moment, he said to me: "That hurts. When I have tried all my life to put myself in the other fellow's place, when I have tried to help those in need and to lighten the burdens of those less fortunate than myself, to be pictured as I am here, to be held up to the gaze of the world as a murderer

of women and children, I tell you it hurts." And, looking up into the frank, manly face, I saw the tears coursing down his cheeks, and he turned and silently walked away.

The subject which perhaps lay closer than any other to the mind and heart of this noble man, that to which he so often expressed the desire to devote the remaining days of his life, was the vital question of capital and labor, the matter of the adjustment of the differences between the employer and the employed. His position was a unique one. He held the respect and confidence not only of the moneyed interests of the country, but also of the mass of the working people, and was therefore peculiarly fitted for the gigantic task of conciliating these two great classes in America. As an employer of labor, he gave the same earnest consideration to the welfare and advancement of his employees that he gave to his own. Strikes and lockouts were foreign to the industries which he conducted, and when differences arose they were adjusted amicably and satisfactorily. I thought, as I listened to the eloquent words of Bishop Leonard that sad day in Cleveland, how Senator HANNA'S great, tender heart, so exquisitely sensitive to kindness, would have burned within him at the silent and sublime tribute of those three hundred thousand miners who ceased their work that day, laid down their picks, and put out their lamps that they might thus witness to the world their reverence for "a righteous man, a strong leader, a considerate employer."

It has been said that self-interest rules the world from pole to pole; and when I see how men, forgetful of the divine command to love one another, turn against their fellow-men

with hatred and malice, I am almost persuaded that the words are true. But, happily, amid the gloom of such pessimism, there ever flashes before me the golden example of my beloved friend. When I remember how he gave up luxury and flung away ambition that he might go forth on the lofty mission of helping humanity and healing the strifes prevalent among us; when I remember how, regardless of personal interest, he entered the arena where capital and labor were engaged in death struggles and brought them amicably together; when I hear the glad acclaims of the hundreds of thousands whom he reconciled and helped, the vision changes and I see no more the darkness and the gloom, but in their stead come the blessed sunshine of hope and the dawn of peace eternal, and the world with all its cares and miseries and crimes brightens as with the glory of the noonday sun.

How our pulse quickens, how our hearts are stirred, in the contemplation of a character so impressive. Wisdom, honor, courage, strength, and earnestness of purpose, self-control, frankness, steadfastness, simplicity, and kindliness of heart—all were met in him. And to these must be added that other distinctive trait—the one to which, above all others, I believe he owed his preeminent success—an absolute love of justice and fair play. He abhorred unfairness. With admirable impartiality of judgment he quickly discovered the just side of every controversy, and this once ascertained, whether in the affairs of individuals or in the larger matters affecting the policy of his country, nothing could swerve him from the course that his sense of justice and of right marked out for him. It was this splendid side

of his character that so endeared him to his fellow countrymen and enshrined him in their affections. And could we, who knew him well, resist the magnetism of his high qualities? They were the subtle keys that unlocked our hearts and made them yield up to him their store of admiration and affection.

The world is better because he lived. So exalted was his character, so illustrious his achievements, so noble and unselfish his ambitions, that life gave him up reluctantly and death was proud to take him. But death can not take from us the memory of what he was and what he did. Men come and go; he alone lives forever in the hearts of his countrymen who truly loves and serves his brother man. Though dead, this immortality, this endless life in human heart and history, is the supreme, the sovereign reward of MARCUS ALONZO HANNA.

Address of Mr. Cockrell, of Missouri

Mr. President: I desire to join in this last tribute of respect, friendship, and honor by the Senate to the memory of our late colleague, Hon. Marcus Alonzo Hanna. Senator Hanna was born September 24, 1837, in Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, and died in this capital city on February 15, 1904. With his father's family he removed to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1852, where he made his home thereafter. He was educated in the common schools of that city and in the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio.

His father was the senior member of the firm of Hanna, Garretson & Co., grocers. Senator Hanna began his business career as an employee in that firm and continued therein to the death of his father, in 1862, and thereafter represented his father's interest until 1867, when the business of the firm was closed up. He then became a member of the firm of Rhodes & Co., engaged in the iron and coal business, and at the expiration of ten years the title of the firm was changed to M. A. Hanna & Co., which continued up to the time of his death.

In this firm he became identified with the transportation business on the Great Lakes, in the ownership of vessels on the Lakes, and in the construction of such vessels. He was president of the Union National Bank of Cleveland and of the Cleveland City Railway Company.

He devoted all his energies and abilities to his business affairs and was eminently successful, acquiring a private fortune which placed him in the rank of rich men in the country where riches are only counted by millions.

It is shown by the records that MARCUS A. HANNA was mustered into service May 5, 1864, at Cleveland, Ohio, as second lieutenant of Company C, One hundred and fiftieth Ohio National Guard Infantry Volunteers, to serve one hundred days, and that he was mustered out and honorably discharged from the service with his company, as second lieutenant, August 23, 1864, at Cleveland, Ohio.

This organization, upon its muster in, proceeded to Washington, D. C., where it arrived May 14, 1864, and was assigned to the defenses north of the Potomac. It was engaged in action at Fort Stevens, D. C., July 11 and 12, 1864.

The first civil position he held was that of Government director of the Union Pacific Railway Company, in 1885, by the appointment of President Cleveland. This position enabled him to extend and widen his acquaintances among leading business men and to form valuable friendships.

While a stanch Republican, and taking a lively interest in party affairs, he had not sought any political preferment until 1884. He was chosen a delegate to the National Republican conventions in 1884, 1888, and 1896. He had been an ardent admirer and a warm personal and political friend of President McKinley, and was most active in securing his nomination in 1896, and was chosen chairman of the National Republican Committee in that year and in 1900, and was holding the position at his death.

When Hon. John Sherman resigned his position as Senator to accept the position of Secretary of State under President McKinley, Mr. HANNA was appointed United States Senator by Governor Bushnell, on March 5, 1897, to fill the vacancy, and in January, 1898, he was elected to fill the unexpired portion of the term ending March 3, 1899, and also for the full term ending March 3, 1905, and in January, 1904, was reelected for the term ending March 3, 1911, by the largest legislative vote ever given a candidate for the Senate in that State.

In all business affairs Senator HANNA wielded a strong influence and his judgment was given great weight, and the results justified its soundness, and his organizations of enterprises were timely planned and capable of successful administration. As a politician Senator HANNA was preeminently successful and displayed a wonderful faculty and power for organization, gauging public opinion, adopting measures for promoting the interests and success of his party, and seeing where effort should be exerted. It is related of him that, in discussing his reasons for being in politics, he said:

> I am in politics for the best interests of the country through the instrumentality of the Republican party.

Senator HANNA entered the Senate with the prestige of a most successful business man and a most capable and efficient party leader.

The eyes and the attention of his personal and political friends and also his political opponents were fixed upon his conduct and actions as a legislator in the Senate of the United States without any previous experience in any

legislative body. His career in the Senate sustained the highest expectations of his personal and political friends and gave him high rank in the Senate. He was not a frequent speaker, but in his discussion of the questions in which he participated he spoke with great clearness and force and received the closest attention of both sides in this Chamber.

In regard to his death and loss I quote from an editorial in the Evening Star, of this city:

> The death of Mr. HANNA is truly a national loss, and a considerable one. He has for eight years played an important part in our national affairs, and played it well. He secured and held the confidence of the country. In business circles as well as in wage-earning circles he was esteemed a statesman of sagacity and fair dealing. His influence was exerted in behalf of the public credit, of progress in affairs, and of a friendly, helpful understanding between capital and labor. HANNA the man was as busy in all matters touching these questions as HANNA the Senator. He labored unceasingly, taking his official commission as a serious call to duty, and finding in the work before him an inspiration to his best endeavors.
>
> Mr. HANNA will rank as one of our remarkable men. He was 60 years of age when he became a commanding political quantity. Up to that time, while he had been no stranger to politics—bearing as a good citizen his share in the local campaigns—he had in the main addressed himself to private business interests which, because of their size, had been exacting. But when the man whom he had helped to make President called for his counsel here in office, he accepted office, and almost immediately rose to power there. He proved to be not only an excellent adviser, but a strong debater, holding his own in the Senate on questions of great difficulty with men schooled in discussion by a lifetime devoted to public speaking.
>
> The voice which had not hitherto been lifted except at the council table of a business establishment was now heard in the Senate of the United States with respect and admiration. He spoke easily and effectively and as though born to the speaker's purple.
>
> The relations which Mr. HANNA bore to Mr. McKinley were most affectionate. He helped the statesman and loved the man. Mr. McKinley's great success in office was dear to his heart.

As a member of the committee of the Senate appointed to accompany the remains of Senator HANNA to their last

resting place in his home city of Cleveland, Ohio, I was present at the funeral services.

Although the weather was exceedingly inclement, the many thousands of the people from his home city and from many parts of his native State and from other States who were there assembled were the strongest possible testimonials to the great respect, warm friendship, and affection they cherished for him in all the relations of life. The last funeral services were held in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, under charge of Bishop Leonard, who, among other things, said:

We are gathered here to-day in this house of God for the last services of benediction over the body of our distinguished citizen, our kindly neighbor, and our beloved friend. The nation has honored him with its civic function at the capital of the United States; the Commonwealth of Ohio, by the hand of her governor, has received him back into her care and keeping; the city has stood silently about his bier, reverencing his memory and sorrowing at his departure. And now the holy church would commit his body from whence it came and his soul unto the righteous Savior who redeemed it and who loved it with an infinite affection. It is not the time or place for extended eulogy and praise; such will be fitly spoken by those well equipped for such a privilege. But there are certain qualities and characteristics of this man so highly regarded by all classes of people that ought assuredly to receive recognition in the midst of his friends and associates and at this solemn hour.

The testimonies that have been given from many and varied sources blend together in a common strain and harmony as they speak of his high integrity, his inflexible and dauntless purpose, and his tender, true heart. Their composite resultant seems to portray with unmistakable outline and detail the features of his human service. Those who are assembled here need no inspiration for their love and estimation of this earnest, helpful life. We knew him well; we loved him well; we mourn for him with undiminished sorrow because we shall see his face no more. But we may each of us go forth into the life God hath granted us with added enthusiasm for our tasks and toils, since we have noted how worthily he did his duty for others, and we realize that the world he served is not unmindful of his greatness and goodness, nor ungrateful for what he strove after and for what he accomplished.

And, first, the universal comment is on his integrity. This was a

keynote in his life. I recall a fine, ringing address he made at Kenyon College last year when the degrees were being conferred upon its graduating class. And the thought of his heart found expression in his eloquent words as he urged upon those men the essential importance of a high and pure integrity. It is this word that he has carved deep upon the stone that marks his long and successful business career. He was not only honest, but he was fair and just in all his dealings. He was respected by everyone in his employ.

Senator HANNA was warm and tender-hearted—devoted to his friends and his friends were devoted to him—was generous and kind to his employees, and enjoyed their respect and friendship. I shall never forget the words spoken by him at a dinner given by him in honor of General Booth, of the Salvation Army, after General Booth had explained the organization and work of the Salvation Army throughout the world. He told how he had become interested in that work, and enlisted in aiding it, and the great good it was accomplishing in reaching and elevating a class and condition of people not reached by other denominations of Christians, and plainly manifesting his tenderness of heart and his warm sympathy in behalf of those in lowly conditions in life. All these traits of his noble, generous character were exhibited in his family relations. As a husband he was faithful, devoted, and loving to his noble, good wife. As a father he was kind and affectionate to his two daughters and son.

He achieved distinguished success in his business, in his political aspirations, and in his career in the Senate of the United States. We shall miss him in this Chamber, taken from us by the grim reaper Death in the zenith of his achievements and power. We lament his death and tender to his bereft and sorrowing wife and children our heartfelt condolence and sympathy.

Address of Mr. Platt, of Connecticut

Mr. President: It may with truth be said that when Marcus A. Hanna died all the people mourned with a grief that was deep and unfeigned. Something in his life and character had endeared him to all classes. What that something was it is difficult to say, but we know that it is given to but few men in this world to inspire such respect and affection as did our deceased comrade and brother. His death saddened all. From one end of the nation to the other all felt the solemn hush which precedes impending disaster. Then came long, weary days of waiting, with alternating hope and fear, and finally the great sorrow which makes a whole people one in the sense of common loss.

The sun of life was clouded, and the whole air chill and dreary. It seemed as if the tie which bound his heart to every heart had been rudely sundered. While all shared the common grief, I think that nowhere outside of the circle of his domestic life was the mourning so deep as among his Senatorial associates. We had learned to admire him for his ability; to respect him for his strength; to wonder at his great influence; but more than that, each had come to love him as a friend.

Others have spoken and will speak of his career; of his business and public life; of his statesmanship; of his success, and of his power; but I wish to-day only to speak of him as

a friend, and to say that I cherish above earthly possessions the remembrance of our friendship.

The attachments of men one to another are inexplicable. How men are drawn to each other so that their lives seem to mingle and flow in one current is a mystery, but such friendships constitute the real pleasure and joy of life. I knew Senator HANNA before he came to the Senate, but only as a casual acquaintance; I knew him as I had read of him, as a man in the public eye, who was doing the things he set out to do, a forceful, powerful man. There was no special bond of sympathy between us, and yet very soon a friendship sprung up which I cherished more and more until the sad day when he left us. I am sure that I came to know him intimately, and that he came to know me thoroughly. Whatever this passion of friendship may be, I knew that it existed between us. We did not always think alike or act together. Though our lives frequently appeared to run in different channels, I still felt for him, as I believe he did for me, a peculiar attachment. I felt that most grateful and satisfying assurance that he was my friend, and I strove to let him know that I was his friend. I found him to be genuine, sincere, loyal, and true-hearted; qualities which above all others go to make up the best that man can ever hope to attain.

He was genuine; I am sure no one ever doubted that. He never rang false or hollow; he never attempted to pass for that which he was not. He hated pretension and sham and concealment. He was outspoken. What he said he meant, and what he meant he said. He feared no one. He courted no one for the sake of advancement.

He was sincere; the genuine man is always sincere. His bond needed no seal, and his word was as good as his bond. I think more than anyone I ever knew he "wore his heart upon his sleeve." He illustrated the story of the old Athenian who is said to have built his house of glass, that all might look in and see what he was doing. Nothing hurt him more than to have anyone suppose that he had a motive that he was not willing to avow. Nothing wounded him so much as that the shafts of calumny should be directed at him, and yet he was so sincere that such shafts never pierced his armor, but always fell harmless at his feet.

His loyalty was something wonderful. With his friends, and no man had more friends, it carried him nearly to extremes. I often thought that he of all men was one who would be willing to die for his friends. Once he became convinced that one might be trusted as a friend there was nothing that he was not ready to do for that man. Neither personal exertion nor self-sacrifice would he spare in his behalf. Friendship has its burdens as well as its joys, and he took upon himself all of its burdens as easily and as heartily as he shared its joys.

He was true hearted—no man was ever truer to his convictions or to his sympathies. He never deviated from the path in which his great heart impelled him to walk. He never turned back from the course which his judgment and conscience marked out for him. He was as tender as he was true—almost womanly in his tenderness. He was never so engrossed in the management of important affairs or the direction of great policies but that he was able and ready to

turn aside, that the poor, the suffering, and the unfortunate might know that he felt for them and was glad to help them. Children loved him, and knew by intuition that he loved them. I think the finest photograph which is preserved and cherished by his friends is that in which he stands leaning on the railing of a boat with the boys of the water front gathered around him in an apparently mutual and pleasant companionship.

Almost every generation produces one man who, above all others, understands his fellow-men, and has for them such a human and brotherly feeling that all instinctively turn to him as their spokesman and leader. Such a man earns for himself the title of a "Great Commoner," and I know of no man in whom all the qualities of heart and mind and soul which find expression in these words were more finely blended than in Mr. HANNA. He was indeed a great commoner. He recognized no class distinctions. The worthy and industrious poor were as welcome to his hand shake and his heart touch as the fortunate and the great. He looked upon all the people as one great family, in which there should be no distinctions between high and low, rich and poor, but in which the sense of brotherhood and mutual dependence should bind them together in a common fellowship. I think that man comes nearest to the attainment of greatness who sympathizes with and understands well the common people; who never ceases, on the one hand, to strive and toil for them, or, on the other, yields to their unreasonable demands.

There was nothing of the demagogue about our friend. He never pretended an interest in the people which he did

not truly feel. He never sought to rise in the estimation of the people by any appeal to their prejudices or any pretense of sympathy which he did not actually feel. His political life was as far removed from that of the demagogue as the clearest sunlight is removed from darkness. He was a man of strong convictions, who lived and wore himself out in following his convictions.

Neither philosophy nor even faith can wholly reconcile us to the loss of such a friend. We know that death is the common lot, but we are never ready for the coming of its angel. We know that the golden bowl must at some time be broken, yet our hearts must always break with it. The ties of human friendship are too strong to be sundered without a sense of loss and despair.

We know that our friend lives on; but we would see him, and speak with him, and feel the touch of his generous and noble heart. We look about us to the seat in which he sat as if our eyes might rest upon him, only to find that he has gone from us, and we turn again with a fresh sense of sadness and personal grief.

But this our friend lived well his life. It was not so brief but that it left its mark upon our times and made men better and stronger and nobler because he lived. He died in the plenitude of his strength and power and usefulness. I believe, and I rejoice in believing, that the earth which covers up what is mortal in man never hides or covers his influence upon mankind; that it is not the evil that men do, but the good, that lives after them; that this generation, that all the generations to come, will be the better and stronger for the life which our comrade lived here and for

that great influence which, though he has gone from our sight, will live on.

So until we may rejoin him we must be content—not content merely, but thankful—for all that he brought into our lives, for what he accomplished for all lives. To-day we speak our farewells to our friend with the feeling that after all they are not real farewells, and that if he can not come to us we may go to him, where the friendship only partially interrupted will be taken up again for eternity.

Address of Mr. Cullom, of Illinois

Mr. President: In the few remarks I shall make on this solemn occasion I find it difficult to determine what is most fitting to say.

Evidences of mourning occur so frequently in this Chamber that we can not forget that "in the midst of life we are in death."

In the death of Senator Hanna one of the most remarkable men of our country has passed away. He had an extraordinary career, a career that challenged the admiration of the people, without regard to section or partisanship.

Senator Hanna was never fully conscious of his own intellectual power or the strength of his personal influence.

He was a Republican from the organization of the Republican party. As a man of affairs, he did not seek office, but did his whole duty by his country and his party. When his devoted friend, the late President McKinley, became a candidate for the office of President of the United States, Senator Hanna became his champion and devoted himself, and all the energy and influence he possessed, to the work (which with him was a work of love) in securing President McKinley's nomination and election, and then his election the second time. When his friend, and the friend of us all, was taken away by the cruel hand of an assassin, Senator Hanna was greatly crushed, but his brave

heart bade him go forward in the discharge of his duties as a citizen and as a Senator.

He became a member of the Senate on the 5th of March, 1897. He at once took his place as a strong man. He had strong convictions and did not hesitate to avow and defend them, in the Senate or out of it.

He was in favor of the Panama route for the isthmian canal connecting the two great oceans in the interest of the commerce of the United States and the world. He was a powerful advocate of that route, as against the Nicaragua route, and it is not too much to say that success in the adoption of the Panama route was largely due to his efforts.

Mr. HANNA was a true and positive man, and whatever he undertook to do he did with great energy and power.

In his recent campaign for reelection to the Senate he attacked, without fear or favor, what he regarded as fallacies and injurious doctrines urged upon the people by his opponents, and he came out of the campaign after winning a victory at the polls which gave him, as I am informed, the largest legislative majority ever given to any man for the Senate in the history of the State of Ohio.

Mr. President, no man in this country had such a hold upon the affections of the people as MARCUS ALONZO HANNA had at the time of his death. He was acquainted with the people in all the walks of life. He was a great business man. He was familiar with mills and factories, mines and railroads, and steamships, and with the men who conducted the business, and with the men who did the work. He sympathized with the wage-earner, and, as has

been stated here to-day, as an employer of labor he never had trouble with those who worked for him.

Mr. President, it is not so much what a man says as it is what a man does in his community, his State, or his country in whatever honorable calling he may be engaged. The man who does the best for the welfare of the people is entitled to the most gratitude.

Senator HANNA was a splendid example of industry, whether in the conduct of his great business enterprises, in political campaigns, or as a Senator in these legislative halls. We often hear men speak of the business man in politics. Senator HANNA, in his brief service in the Senate, demonstrated the very great advantage which his intimate knowledge of important business enterprises gave to him in dealing with questions as a legislator.

For the last few years of his life he labored assiduously to bring about better relations between capital and labor. He believed he could render service to his fellow-men and to his country by his efforts to bring managers and men of extensive industrial establishments into closer and more friendly relations with each other. He was an employer of men, and his heart went out to the poor man. He worked to improve the poor man's condition, and at the same time to aid capitalists or proprietors by securing harmony between employers and the employed.

While Senator HANNA has gone from the Senate and from the world, he has left his impress upon the country as few men have done who have gone before.

Mr. President, as I stand in this presence, speaking of

our departed friend, I am reminded of a long line of eminent statesmen, generals, lawyers, and judges of Ohio who have passed away and who, during my own recollection, made the pages of the history of our nation brilliant by the simple story of their great deeds.

Ohio has given the nation three great Presidents in the persons of Hayes, Garfield, and McKinley. She has given the country many great Senators, notably Sherman, Thurman, and HANNA; two Chief Justices and an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the persons of Chase, Waite, and Swayne; brave generals, notably Sherman and Sheridan. These are great names—names of noble men who did much to build up and do honor to their State and country.

Mr. President, one of the early statesmen, William Wirt, in delivering an oration on the lives and characters of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, both of whom died on the Fourth of July, 1826, said that they—

> Rested not until they had accomplished their work, when they were called to their reward, and they left the world hand in hand, exulting as they rose in the success of their labors.

Mr. President, the late President McKinley and the late Senator HANNA, to the latter of whose memory we pay tribute to-day, two great Americans, devoted to their country and devoted to each other, did not leave the world hand in hand when their work was finished, but the one followed the other after a little while, and doubtless they are again together where trouble never comes and where there will be no more parting forever.

Address of Mr. Blackburn, of Kentucky

Mr. President: It is not in studied terms of eulogy, but rather from the standpoint of a political opponent, though a personal friend, that I would speak of Senator Hanna. In the few moments that I will ask the attention of the Senate I will speak of him as I knew him. I have nothing prepared to say to-day, nor do I care to have.

There were some characteristics developed by this dead Senator that, in my judgment, not only marked him as an extraordinary man, but proved conclusively, to my mind, that he was a man of sufficient power and force to have made and left his impress upon any Senate that this country has ever known. The severest crucial test that can be applied to a man's greatness is to adopt the standard of achievement, and, measured by this rule, the friends of Senator Hanna may safely challenge comparison.

The public knew him as a public man for a half dozen years only, and I very much doubt if we can find in all the annals of our country's history a man who in that short space of time did more to leave an indelible impression upon his countrymen. His advent into public life was not fortuitous. Without experience, without the advantages of academic or liberal education, without identification with any deliberative body, after a life spent until he had reached his third-score milestone in the activities of business and

commercial venture, he came for the first time into public notice as a member of this great Chamber.

Without the advantage of professional discipline, he found himself here, at the very starting point of a marvelously successful though short political career, to be measured by eighty-nine men who had been selected from 80,000,000 of people because of their assumed fitness for the great work upon which he entered. Here he took his initiation, pitted against eighty-nine old gladiators of debate, and he who is willing to do justice to this man's fame must admit that from his entrance here until his death, upon all questions, political or commercial, he maintained his place in the very front rank of the strongest debaters in the Senate. No ordinary man could have done that.

But more; when he came into public life he did not come heralded as we would choose to be, but quite the contrary. The public had been taught to regard him as a man whose methods were not to be admired. We believed, save those who knew him intimately—and I speak without regard to political party division—the American public believed that he was nothing more than a shrewd, effective manager of campaign politics. They believed that his methods were not commendable. They believed that he had but one idea in the waging of his life's work, and that was grounded upon an unfailing faith in the power of money. This was the general estimate placed upon this man when he burst upon the public view.

I frankly avow, Mr. President, that to more than an average degree I shared the prejudice that was held against him. That prejudice upon a closer acquaintance and a

better opportunity to measure the man disappeared utterly. That judgment was reversed. Its falsity and error I openly avow, and in lieu of that prejudice of feeling was substituted the broadest gauge of measurement for his ability and the sincerest personal sense of friendship and affection.

He did more, Mr. President. From his very entrance into public life he was recognized as the one public man in this country who, probably to a greater extent than any other, commanded the confidence of what is termed the "moneyed interests" of our people. He was placarded as the spokesman of the trusts, the trusted apostle of the combinations, and singularly enough, he held the confidence of that element of our people to his death. It was never impaired or abated, whilst he built up for himself an equally potent place in the affections and confidence of the laboring masses of our people.

It is not more than just to say of him that at the end of his six or seven years of public service he held in greater measure than any living American statesmen the confidence of all classes.

It is true he never reached what is regarded as the highest office within the gift of the American people, but he did more to illustrate his power. If he did not wear a crown, he put it upon the head for which he destined it. He proved himself the Warwick of American politics, and this meed of praise can not be fairly or truthfully denied him.

I got to know him well, and the better I knew him and the closer I came to him the more implicitly I trusted him, the more I admired him, and the more tenderly I felt for him.

It has been truly and eloquently said by Senators who have preceded me that he was an open-hearted, honest, candid man. More than once I have had occasion to go to him to know what his course would be upon a given matter pending before this body. He never refused to answer, and when he answered it was never by evasion. Whether friend or foe, you always knew where he would stand upon any disputed question. His faith once plighted was never violated. His word once given was never broken. Loyal in his friendships, true to his convictions, he commanded in fullest measure the respect and admiration even of his opponents.

I know no higher tribute to pay a departed friend, loyal in every relation of life. He never measured consequences nor considered sacrifices when he deemed himself called upon to stand by his friends.

It is true his public life was short, but point me, if you can, to any man in all the list of honored names that have preceded us who in six short years accomplished more than this dead Senator. Easily, concededly the strongest man of his party, and that party dominating and shaping the policies and destinies of this great country, his record, in my judgment, stands without comparison.

And yet, Mr. President, the time of his taking off was not unfortunate. Looking at it with a view to the preservation of his fame, the stroke could not have come at a more fortunate or opportune moment. Age had not impaired his powers. Time had not blunted his love of friends and fame and power. He died in the fullness of these envied possessions, and may we not conclude that it was fortunate,

viewed from this standpoint, that he died when he did? What more could he have accomplished to have demonstrated his capacity, his character, or the strong points of his personality that commended him to his countrymen? He is to be envied in that he did not live too long, for—

> When 'tis given us to choose the time, if we choose aright,
> 'Tis best to die our honor at its height.

Address of Mr. Elkins, of West Virginia

Mr. President: The rise of the late Senator Hanna to political power and his advancement to the front rank of statesmen are unique in the history of American politics. From his boyhood until 1895 he devoted himself almost exclusively to business, and became widely and favorably known both in his native State and through the East in business circles. As the result of his industry, ability, honorable dealing with men, and genius for organization he was successful from the beginning and accumulated a large fortune.

During this period Mr. Hanna gave but little attention to public affairs, was not known to the country as a politician and not widely known as such in his own State. In the year 1896 he began to attract public attention by his vigorous advocacy of the nomination of his beloved friend, the late President McKinley, for the Chief Magistracy of the nation. Watching political events with a keen interest, interpreting accurately the situation, and with an ardent devotion to the fortunes of Mr. McKinley, he decided that the time had come for the Republican party to stand not only for the protective tariff, but unequivocally for sound money, and that Mr. McKinley should be its standard bearer. Without consulting Republican leaders, and often without their advice or approval, he moved boldly forward in the work of organization to

carry out his well-formed purposes. He toiled with his whole heart to perform the task he had taken in hand. He addressed himself to his undertaking on the same lines that had brought him abundant success in his business career. His sound judgment, his knowledge of men, his confidence in the tact, commanding ability, and conservatism of William McKinley, made him feel that he was right and what he proposed was in the interest of his party and the country.

At first party leaders gave little heed to the doings of Mr. HANNA and to the plans he had made for the leadership and policy of the Republican party. They felt that he was an unknown quantity, too new to politics, too lacking in experience for such an undertaking, and that it was the audacity of the novice in public affairs for him to break away from the traditions of party management and refuse to be governed by the advice of the tried leaders who had for years controlled the party policy and its national conventions.

It was not long before the results of this new force in politics began to be felt throughout the country. Old leaders looked on with surprise and sometimes with amazement. Meantime the tide for McKinley, under the guidance of HANNA'S splendid powers of leadership, rose higher and higher. Here and there sporadic attempts were made to present the claims of other Republican statesmen for nomination at St. Louis, but all to no purpose; and long before the convention assembled it was known that Mr. McKinley was the choice of the people and would be nominated without opposition.

It is not necessary to mention here even the leading features of President McKinley's wise administration and the magic results that followed in the business world. The people soon realized what Mr. HANNA knew long before—that Mr. McKinley was not only a good, pure, and just man, but that he was a leader who could lead and a statesman who could be trusted to care for the state. It followed, "as the day the night," that Mr. McKinley made a great President, and that, with almost unanimous consent, his name is classed in our history with the names of Washington, Lincoln, and Grant.

The claims of Mr. McKinley—because of his successful administration, his fairness to all interests, his statesmanlike treatment of new and grave questions of serious concern, not only to this country but to the nations of the world, many of them as difficult as ever came to any of his predecessors—were fully recognized by the people, and his second nomination and election became a foregone conclusion. During all this time Mr. HANNA was the close adviser of the President, bearing himself in the position of recognized influence with the modesty of conscious power. He remained at the head of the national committee, conducted the Presidential campaign, and witnessed for the second time the inauguration of his friend, crowned with the benedictions of a prosperous and happy people—perhaps the most beloved President who had ever taken the oath of office.

For more than forty years Mr. HANNA was an employer of labor. He understood the wage-earner. He knew how to sympathize with him. Later in life, when his fame

filled the country and he was blessed with large wealth, his heart went out to the wage-earners in their struggles to better their condition. His sympathies were so aroused and his conscience so worked upon that he firmly resolved to give the remaining years of his life toward helping to bridge the gulf that divides labor and capital. He openly and frequently declared that he would rather help reconcile differences between employer and employee and bring an end to useless strikes than to be President. Employer and employee looked upon him as their truest friend; and this confidence from these opposing forces, the strongest in our civilization, was one of the chief grounds if not the foremost reason for the unequaled confidence bestowed upon him by his countrymen. Such confidence and such success are not accidental, but the reward of merit.

Mr. HANNA was not a trained politician nor an experienced statesman. He entered upon his career in politics and statesmanship too late in life to be either. Yet he rose to be the recognized leader of his party and took high rank as a statesman. He did not toil as others through long and arduous years to reach his commanding position; he advanced, the people welcomed him with their confidence, and the leaders gave way and made place for him. It is as impossible as it would be useless to try to reason or speculate how all this came about, and how Mr. HANNA reached his high position in so short a time and apparently with so little effort. It could be seen at once that he was a man of ability, purity, integrity, and high courage. These virtues are often assembled in others but have not always yielded the success they brought to Mr. HANNA.

During President McKinley's first administration Mr. HANNA was elected to the Senate, and continued a member of this body until his untimely death, which brought tears to his friends, grief to his colleagues, and sorrow to the people. From the time when he first took part in national politics, at the age of 58, until his death covers a period of less than nine years. In this brief period he became, next to the President himself, the dominating force in public affairs, and after the death of his lamented friend unquestionably the most popular man in our business and national life.

In his daily life, though burdened with business cares and public duties, Mr. HANNA went about doing good. He gave the best that was in him to all his undertakings. He was sought out and consulted by people of all conditions, from the miner digging in the mine to the President of the great Republic, and gave alike to all the benefit of his aid and judgment. Measured by the truest standards—

> He attained
> To the full stature and maturity
> Of simple greatness.

He was kind, generous, unselfish, with a heart full of sympathy for humanity. He helped the weak and lowly in their efforts to be strong, and the strong to be firm in good things and high purposes. He has left a name that "binds to honor and virtue;" an example that will be an inspiration to young men "far on in summers we shall not see."

He gained power and confidence unaided by high office. He was not the ruler of a kingdom nor of a republic, but he was a ruler in the minds and hearts of men. The soul at

last, with its mystic unknown powers, is the greatest force we know.

> Great truths are portions of the soul of man;
> Great souls are portions of eternity.

Mr. HANNA may not have known it, but he convinced the minds of men, and conquered through the workings of a great soul, glimpses of which were had through his kindly, loving eyes, true eyes, that, with his genial smile, disarmed opposition and invited confidence.

Like most great men, he was simple, unselfish, and without affectation. Simplicity belongs to greatness.

He was—

> Rich in saving common sense,
> And, as the greatest only are,
> In his simplicity sublime.

The lesson is taught us more and more every day that in the life of nations a people's chief reliance for security and progress is on their strong and godlike men.

The passing of such a man gives us pause, and we wonder why his going was so soon. His death brings us again face to face with the great ultimate mystery—the mystery which in the minds of men is being slowly solved; for, added to the light of the old revelation, light is still struggling in from the new revelations we are constantly receiving through the poets—the seers and prophets of the ages; and the truth is more distinctly dawning that death is the beginning of the real life, the life that lasts, "the change that never changes."

> Our day of dying is our day of birth.

Franklin, taken all in all, our greatest American, says:

> We are spirits—man is not completely born until he dies.

The great poet and seer, Tennyson, writing to Britain's peerless Queen, said:

> The dead, though silent, are more living than the living.

It is a solace to believe that our individuality continues and that—

> Death is the chilliness that precedes the dawn;
> We shudder for a moment, then awake
> In the bright sunshine of the other life.

The life of our dear friend and colleague has changed, not ended. It will go on in another place and with another body. His soul has passed "into the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," into the all-pervading ether which fills the space between stars and suns, the home of spirits, with spiritual bodies, where revolving worlds bring no darkness, and where there is eternal light. He now sees with a clear vision. It has been given to him to understand all things, and for him all problems are solved.

> For tho' the giant ages heave the hill
> And break the shore, and evermore
> Make and break, and work their will;
> Though world on world in myriad myriads roll
> Round us, each with different powers,
> And other forms of life than ours,
> What know we greater than the soul?
> On God and godlike men we build our trust.

Address of Mr. Fairbanks, of Indiana

Mr. President: Again Death has entered this exalted Chamber and laid his hand upon a friend. With reverent and heavy hearts we come to place upon the enduring records of the Senate our estimate of the life and work of our late colleague whom we loved and honored.

We are sharply reminded by what has transpired that the world is filled with tragedies, and that the profoundest among us can see but a little way into the future. When the present session of Congress began our friend was in buoyant spirits. He looked forward with happy anticipation to the accomplishment of many beneficent things for his fellow-men and for the Government. But a few weeks ago he returned from the great and loyal State which implicitly trusted him, bearing her credentials for an additional term in the United States Senate. His party had honored him with a more generous indorsement than ever she had given any of his illustrious predecessors.

It seems but yesterday that his voice filled this Chamber in advocacy of measures for the public welfare. The echo has scarcely died away. It seems but yesterday that we met and greeted him, radiant with hope and full of good cheer. We can scarcely believe that we shall not meet and greet him on the morrow.

Marcus A. Hanna was one of the foremost Americans; one of the most eminent members of this great forum. He

achieved place and power through no mere caprice of accident. He forged his way to the point of vantage occupied when he laid down his great responsibilities by the strength of his own genius and by virtue of arduous deeds done.

He was born September 27, 1837, in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio. His father's family were members of the Society of Friends and his mother was a Presbyterian. It was in this wholesome atmosphere he was reared. When he was of the age of 15 his father moved to Cleveland, where the son graduated from the high school, and then attended the Western Reserve College for a brief period. He then entered the great business world, a university with a vast and exacting curriculum. He was well equipped and admirably fitted for the contest.

He had good executive ability, the initiative faculty, pluck, energy, the ability to attach men to him as with hoops of steel, and absolute, incorruptible integrity. Great enterprises sprang into being under his hand, and in due time he became one of the great masters of industry. Increasing material power did not make him careless of his fellow-men nor indifferent to the cultivation of those finer qualities which are the evidences of the best civilization.

While he always took more or less part in political affairs, he did not become particularly prominent until 1896, when he directed the campaign for the nomination of William McKinley for the Presidency, and when, later, he became chairman of the Republican national committee. The campaign, in which he displayed splendid abilities of leadership, was one of the most memorable in American

history, and he emerged from it with a national prestige well established.

He was preeminent as a political organizer. He firmly grasped general principles and mastered essential details He selected political lieutenants who were capable of executing his plans with loyalty and success. He employed those qualities in political management which had made him a commanding figure in the world of business, and which would have made him a successful general if he had chosen the profession of arms.

He successfully led the forces of the Republican party through two national campaigns. In each contest he displayed a generalship which commanded universal admiration. He organized with consummate skill the elements with which to achieve victory. He conducted a school of education upon a broader scale than ever before attempted, for he believed, and wisely, that our political safety rests upon an educated, intelligent, public sentiment.

It was fitting indeed that when President McKinley entered the White House Senator HANNA should enter the Senate. Here was a new theater for the display of his genius. He was unaccustomed to the official environment of the national capital. He had the most profound respect for the dignity and traditions of the Senate and a high regard for the distinguished statesmen with whom he was to fellowship. He did not attempt to assert leadership. He was willing to sit at the feet of his elders until the issues and the occasion commanded him to speak. He

soon won, and held unimpaired to the end, the respect and confidence of his associates.

He attempted no personal aggrandizement at the expense of others. He sought to advance good measures in order that he might in some degree promote the best interests of his countrymen.

When he came to the Senate we were met with grave questions growing out of affairs in Cuba. Through all the days of anxiety, so familiar to many who are now present, Senator HANNA was a modest and safe counselor.

There was no exigency which he did not meet deliberately and wisely. He was a diligent and apt student of the great questions which engaged the attention of the Senate. He took a rational view of them and invariably arrived at conclusions which were entirely sound, and when the time for action came he met the issues squarely and without evasion.

He was not an orator according to the more critical or generally accepted standards. He cared little for the mere elegancies of speech. He was not a rhetorician, yet he was a speaker of uncommon power. His speeches were not carefully wrought out in advance. They were fashioned as he uttered them. He mastered the subjects to be discussed, and in plain and forceful language spoke to the hearts and consciences of his countrymen. He was one of the most popular speakers of the day. His services were in urgent demand everywhere, and he addressed vast multitudes who heard him with sympathetic attention.

He seldom spoke in the Senate, but always with manifest effect. His most notable speeches were made in support

of a measure to build a merchant marine and in advocacy of the Panama Canal. He strongly favored a Government subsidy as the most certain and direct means of securing our rightful place among the carrying nations upon the high seas. He appreciated the natural prejudice in the minds of many people against the grant of a subsidy, but he thoroughly believed in the benefits to accrue to the country by the creation of an adequate merchant marine, and he was willing to stand against the prejudice of the moment, believing that the people would ultimately yield their approval.

He carefully studied and mastered the entire subject of an isthmian canal, in which the people had long been interested. Many had come to favor the Nicaragua route. Perhaps a majority of the American people preferred it. But the investigation led him to the conclusion that the Panama route should be chosen, and he advocated it with such force as to contribute largely to reverse the popular verdict and secure its adoption. His speech was a most powerful presentation. It drew tremendously upon his vital forces.

Yonder he stood for hours, speaking with great energy and with orderly arrangement and lucidity of utterance, which commanded the utmost admiration of the entire Senate. Wearied at times, he would resume his chair and speak from it. It was a notable and, indeed, a pathetic effort. He opposed able and resourceful antagonists, and in the sharp encounters, which were frequent, he demonstrated the fact that he was a debater of no ordinary ability.

His life had been spent in the business world, far

removed from the forensic arena; yet when a great issue pended in this forum he met the ablest debaters upon a plane of absolute equality. He spoke with fluency and from a fullness of his subject. He comprehended it in its historical, scientific, and practical aspects, and he carried conviction with him.

He was one of the founders and chairman of the National Civic Federation, an organization designed to promote a better understanding and to maintain peace between capital and labor. He was particularly well fitted for this work, which was in the best sense a labor of love. He had long been a large employer of men, with whom he maintained good terms, and he had relations with vast capital. He possessed the confidence of both great interests in an unusual degree. The Golden Rule was the fundamental code of his procedure.

Although severely taxed by the exacting demands of the Senate and party leadership, he gave much thought and time to the work of the Federation. Many differences were composed by it, largely through his influence, before they had reached the breaking point. He lived to see the creation of the organization amply justified.

He regarded this service as of the utmost importance and looked forward to the establishment of better relations between labor and capital through the instrumentality of the Federation with confidence and pleasure. He frequently said that if he were obliged to retire from either the Senate or the Federation, he would feel it his duty to retire from the former, as much as he valued his seat here.

The systematic work of education—

Said he—

was begun during the last five years by the Civic Federation. I took some time to consider the work of the Federation, and am firmly convinced that it is the object to which I desire to consecrate the remaining years of my life. I fully appreciate that it is a long struggle, but the progress already made under the motto of the Civic Federation the Golden Rule—has surpassed even my most sanguine expectations, and I am sure that the American people will sustain a policy based upon the highest moral and social impulse.

He was frank and outspoken in his views of the correlative rights of labor and capital.

Fairness and justice—

He declared—

will never agree to the confiscation of the products of one man's toil in order to insure comfort to the idle and worthless. The old law of compensation is operative now as ever. No "ism" is wanted by the American people that will take from any citizen the just and equitable reward for his labor.

Senator HANNA was a man of practical mind. He did not dwell in an atmosphere of purely speculative philosophy, but among the serious realities of life. He possessed in full degree the power of great initiative. He organized and set on foot vast enterprises which required large capital and gave employment to thousands of workingmen. He was essentially a creator; never a destroyer. He opened the door of opportunity to others and thus became a benefactor. He was a man of innate modesty and never indulged in the merely spectacular. He coveted the respect and confidence of his fellow-men, not for selfish purposes, but that he might the better serve them.

He possessed a keenly sensitive nature. He was deeply touched by the criticism of his political opponents, which

for a time was so sharp and unjust. That criticism which sought to undermine the confidence in him of his countrymen and to impeach his broad humanitarian sympathies and purposes left a sting. He cared nothing for the criticism of his political views. He held to them tenaciously and conscientiously, with confidence in the ultimate sober judgment of the people.

He was a plain, blunt man. He was always perfectly natural. He did not pretend to be what the Creator did not intend him to be. He was no mere timeserver. He did not bend to every wind that blew. He was an honest man—honest in thought, in purpose, and in deed; honest with the world and honest with himself. He possessed in a remarkable degree the "genius of common sense." He was resourceful, and had at instant command all of his faculties.

He was tenacious of his opinions, though not dogmatic. He was ready to yield to a better reason when it was made manifest. He sought no compromise with expediency. What was right was right, and what was wrong was wrong. He occupied no middle ground. He was courageous and a total stranger to the arts of the demagogue.

He was a man of most attractive personality. He had warm and generous impulses and drew his friends close to him. He most delighted in their companionship. He had a keen sense of humor, a "gentle wit," and he was always a fascinating conversationalist. His friendships were fast, and he stood by those who dwelt within his confidence through good and evil report. No exigency could alienate

his support, for the severer the storm the deeper sank the roots of his affection.

He was the trusted friend of the late President McKinley throughout his illustrious political career. He possessed his unbounded confidence, a confidence which he repaid with unfailing loyalty and unmeasured devotion.

His name was frequently mentioned, and with entire respect, for still further official honors than those he enjoyed here. The suggestion needed but the encouragement of his assent to make it a formidable reality, but he was content with the great distinction of a seat in this Chamber and discouraged all effort to make him a candidate for the most exalted place in the Government.

His career admirably illustrates the great possibilities that lie before the American youth. He became a power in widely separated fields of endeavor. To have achieved distinction in either was honor enough for one man. His early life as the successful man of business gave no promise of the eminence he was destined to achieve in the world of politics and statesmanship. He did not become a student of statecraft until after he had passed life's meridian. He proved to be a quick student of those great problems which concerned the State.

He was a man of indefatigable industry. He believed in the virtue of labor. He wrought on with no thought of self. His friends observed the serious inroads he was making upon his health and sought to dissuade him from overtaxing his strength, but he disregarded their kindly admonitions and labored on until he fell at his post of

duty—a virtual sacrifice to his country and his countrymen. No soldier ever died upon the field of glory more surely for others than did he.

Senator HANNA and I were friends before coming here, and my entire public service to the hour of his death was in fellowship with him. One of the choicest memories I shall take into private life is the memory of his confidence and unvarying friendship.

I visited him a number of times after he entered the sick chamber with an illness supposed to be but temporary. He was loath to give up his intercourse with his friends. He loved them and he loved the world. He had not gathered his harvest. He had no time to take account of death.

For many long and anxious days his countrymen awaited tidings of his illness. In the alternations of hope and fear we watched and reverently invoked the All-Merciful One to spare our friend to us and to his country. But his hour had come, and tenderly we laid him away by the lakeside which he so much loved and where he sleeps well.

Brave spirit, an affectionate farewell! We take up the burdens you left us and press on, and in good time, in God's providence, we shall leave them to others. This historic Chamber has its entrances and its exits, through which the stately procession comes and goes. We shall each, in his turn, seek an exit.

Good friend! We shall forever cherish as a priceless heritage the memory of your nobility of character and your services and sacrifices for the State.

Address of Mr. Daniel, of Virginia

Mr. President: Marcus Alonzo Hanna, junior Senator from Ohio, died in this city on the 15th day of February last, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. With the single exception of the President of the United States, he was at the time of his death the most conspicuous and the most influential of the public men in the service of the country. In addition to his official position as a Senator from Ohio, he was then chairman of the national Republican organization. Occupying those two great positions at a period when the party to which he belonged held the reins of power in all departments of the Government, and attributing its triumph in large measure to him, he naturally and justly wielded a mighty power, and was "the observed of all observers."

But beyond this, Mark Hanna, to call him by his popular designation, possessed a personality and had led a career apart from political station that gave him much significance. Trained to business from boyhood, he had risen to high place in the commercial world. "He that is diligent in his business shall stand before kings," was said of old. In our modern American life so vast are the concerns of business that he who is diligent in his business is in power a king, and is often the maker of those who wield the powers of government. He had himself established a great

business house and was either the immediate employer or interested in the employment of many thousand workmen. He had been brought in contact with and had won the confidence of the leading spirits of finance, transportation, and trade. He had established a reputation as a man of ability, fair dealing, enterprise, and sound judgment. He had won a great fortune through years of patient toil. He was, when he stepped into the arena in 1896, recognized as a representative man of the large business interests of the country. He was also the immediate friend and right-hand man of William McKinley, who, through years of political experience, had now become the star of hope and Presidential candidate of his party.

It was then that Mr. HANNA became the chairman of the Republicans, and it was under the most favorable circumstances and conditions for the appearance of a strong man in that position, for a political crisis was at hand. Up to this period both political parties had coquetted with the money question, and both of them were more or less divided in opinion respecting it. For the first time the Republicans proclaimed themselves explicitly for the single gold standard, and with equal explicitness the Democracy declared for the old-fashioned, long-accustomed, and age-honored bimetallic silver and gold standard money of the people from the days of Washington. Had the contest stood on this issue alone we should have had a battle worthy of the time "when knighthood was in flower." The single-standard people have said one thing and stood for it.

The Democratic advocates of bimetallism would have said one thing—silver and gold as standard money, and stood for

that alone. "Under which king, Bezonian? Speak, or die." But this was not the presentation of that campaign. The Democrats added other things, some of them new things, to their platform. Whatever were their intrinsic merits, which I shall not discuss, they led to immediate assaults upon side issues, obscuring in some measure the main issue. It is probably in some measure due to this fact that the result of the campaign was not regarded as completely decisive of the question, and that it was to a degree revived in another Presidential election, in turn obscuring and handicapping the then greater issue involved in the annexation of distant lands and peoples.

The people are themselves the arbiters of public questions. When by their voice William McKinley was elected President, with MARK HANNA as the practical manager of the campaign, the latter had leaped upon the springboard of success to greater importance as a political factor than any man had hitherto done in the history of this Republic at a single bound. Upon the inauguration of the President-eleet, John Sherman, then in the Senate, became Secretary of State, and on the day thereafter, March 5, 1897, Mr. HANNA, by appointment of the governor of Ohio, entered the Senate of the United States, his colleague, the Hon. J. B. FORAKER, having been sworn in upon the previous day. He was now in the sixtieth year of his age. Oliver Cromwell at the age of 43 became a soldier, and as captain in the parliamentary army rose to be a great general and the dictator of a nation. Mohammed at the age of 42 had a vision in which he was saluted as "the Prophet of God," and

became the founder of a creed whose adherents yet number many millions.

> Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales,
> At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales;
> Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,
> Completed Faust when eighty years were past.
> These are indeed exceptions; but they show
> How far the gulf stream of our youth may flow
> Into the arctic regions of our lives,
> Where little else but life itself survives.

Mark Hanna put on the armor of a new strife in the forum at three-score years of age—a period when many, weary and worn with life's battle, lay it off—and I know of none who so late in life assumed the heavy tasks of public service, whether in military or civic station, who acquitted themselves with more vigorous and adaptive ability or who attained greater success. Entering the arena of debate on the hustings, at festival, and at public ceremonial without the training, experience, and equipment which prepare for such exercises, he competed in discussion with the foremost intellects and most practiced tongues of a land singularly fruitful in all varieties of oratorical and controversial genius. He sustained himself ably and readily. He spoke aptly to the point, exhibiting ample sources of information and facility of expression. He displayed a versatility and elasticity of talent that alike surprised and pleased, and to his solid abilities his good humor and gracious, hearty manners were powerful and attractive adjuncts.

There are two things that I would say of him that find utterance with special satisfaction to me. His personal relations with his colleagues, of whatever phase of political

opinion, were marked by the unfailing courtesy and consideration that well become a member of this body and that bespeak the manly and generous spirit. I never knew him until he became a Senator. My relations with him were never intimate, and I never had negotiations with him respecting any matter of profound and general public importance; but I met him frequently in the ordinary circumstances of our business here. I had with him many consultations and conferences about matters of detail, and about some that deeply concerned my own constituents. I shared the courteous hospitality of his board, which he delighted to dispense to his friends and genial acquaintances. It is a pleasant memory to me that on all occasions I found in him that prompt and candid expression, that polite regard, and that cheerful and amiable companionship that can not fail to inspire friendship, to conciliate opinion, induce confidence, and brighten and bless existence.

MARK HANNA—I say it in his high praise—never at any time here, nor within my knowledge or observation at any other place, exhibited any narrow prejudice, any sectional repugnancy, or vindictiveness toward any segment of his country or any portion of his countrymen. On the contrary, his conduct in this regard seemed to me eminently worthy of the true American and the broad-minded statesman. He often spoke of his Virginia ancestry, his grandfather Hanna having gone to Ohio from the town of Lynchburg, Va., in which I live, and he, like Allen G. Thurman, William Allen, Benjamin Butterworth, George Pendleton, and many others, distinguished representative men of Ohio, being scions of old Virginia stock. His

Americanism was catholic and comprehensive; his humanity was betokened by his manners as by his conduct, and he had a native and unaffected sympathy for his people and his kind. His ambitions were tempered by geniality and good nature, and his words were moderated by the discerning instincts that sever difference of opinion from personal hostility or hatred. Like William McKinley, his countrymen everywhere were not without a place in his regard.

Our enemies without we can readily provide against. The selfish, artful, or fanatical sectionalist within is the most insidious and dangerous foe to the peace, happiness, and dignity of our great national commonwealth.

In one respect Mr. HANNA occupied the vantage ground of exceptionally favorable relations to the suffragans of this country. Himself a capitalist, with large interests in transportation, manufactures, and trade, he had won the confidence of the moneyed classes and the business men.

As the employer of many workingmen he had won their confidence and good will and that of others of similar vocations by a wise, conciliatory, and just course which had prevented strikes and broils. "Come and talk the matter over with me" was his standing invitation to all employees who had a grievance, real or supposed, and such was his tactfulness, which could only have had its base in his sense of justice and humanity, that his conferences always bore the fruits of peace, concession, and contentment. It is not to be wondered at that a man of such characteristics and of such a fortunate relation to the sources of political power should

be widely spoken of and favored for the Presidency of the United States.

The star of that high office seemed at one time to hover over him. Had he yielded to the natural promptings of ambition and hitched his wagon to that star, there is no doubt that he would have proved a powerful and attractive candidate. The conviction of the masses that he was a level-headed man, well balanced, and that he had a lively regard for all his countrymen had increased his prospects of success. Perhaps the admonitions of advancing years and the prudential intimations of weakening health deterred him. Be this as it may, Mr. HANNA was yet in the zenith of high career. He had just been reelected to the Senate with unprecedented manifestations of support in his own State, and he was invested and surrounded with whatever this world can give of its fruits, its honors, and its hopes, be he the toiling son of labor or the ambitious aspirant for public place and power.

Suddenly he was taken down with a dreadful typhoid fever. He resisted its siege with calm and patient courage, but soon it was well known that he had sickened unto death.

No party line divided those who hovered with anxious and sympathetic inquiry around his residence in this city or who eagerly sought the latest tidings in the morning and evening press. When the inevitable came, and science, wealth, station, friendship, and love stood at naught, the whole land mourned, and the sympathies of the people were poured forth to the circle of near and dear ones who bowed at his side before the stroke of Almighty Power.

It was universally thought and felt and said that a man of great ability and amiable disposition and remarkable accomplishments had departed; that he loved and served with tenderness those who were bound to him by ties of affection or kindred blood; that he bore no malice toward his political opponents; that he loved his whole country; that he fought openly with courageous conviction and manly ardor; that his abilities and virtues far exceeded whatever faults might be imputed to him, and that he was, all in all, a great American and a full-statured man.

May God's infinite goodness to his creatures pour balm into the wounded souls of the loving ones, sorely stricken by his loss, and may He sustain and comfort them in their affliction by His infinite power.

Address of Mr. Perkins, of California

Mr. President:

> Friend after friend departs;
> Who has not lost a friend?
> There is no union here of hearts
> That finds not here an end.

It seems as if it were but yesterday that our friend and associate, Senator Hanna, was seated at my right in the seat he so long occupied. I can almost hear the echo of his familiar voice and his cheerful greeting, and see the pleasant smile in recognition of those who were near him.

It was my good fortune to be associated with him upon several important committees, in attendance on which he was always punctual to the hour of meeting, and was watchful and painstaking in the consideration of every measure submitted for investigation, giving the subject-matter the same thought and consideration he would have done had it been a question affecting his own private business affairs.

He had the confidence and respect of all who knew him. Capital had confidence in him because by industry and economy he had become a capitalist. Labor believed in him because he had been a laborer all of his life, and all that he was or hoped to be he owed to labor.

Therefore he intended to devote a great part of the remaining years of his life in reconciling and harmonizing this imaginary conflict between labor and capital.

Could he to-day send a message to us from behind the veil that conceals him from our view, it would be one of patriotism, love of country, home, and our fellow-men, and mutual cooperation and confidence in each other, to the end that all might work together for the mutual benefit and happiness of our common country. He would say a generous use of capital in industrial enterprises should benefit the owner as it does the whole community.

It was in this earnest effort to bring capital and labor together on a basis of mutual understanding that much was to be expected from a man of his energy, uprightness, and usefulness. His whole heart was in the work he had undertaken, for he fully recognized that the questions involved are the most important with which our country is called upon to deal. Without the friendly and harmonious cooperation of these two fundamental bases of progress—prosperity and peace—the future will be dark indeed.

By early training and by later achievements, by character, intelligence, and knowledge of men, Senator HANNA was fully equipped for the great labor which he had voluntarily undertaken. He knew both sides of the question, and had sympathy for both the parties arrayed against each other, for he saw where each had rights, as he also saw where each invaded the rights of the other.

He had decided views upon every question on which he was called upon to legislate. He did his own thinking, and it was no easy task to dissuade him from a line of action upon which he had once determined.

But he had a kind heart and was full of sympathy for the unfortunate and afflicted. Although a sufferer himself

from lameness, which made it at times painful to walk, I have seen him many times within the hour leave his seat to answer a card from some one in the Senate reception room who had called to ask a favor.

Loyalty to his friends was a marked characteristic of his nature. If one had his friendship and confidence, nothing could swerve him from his belief in their integrity. Calumny and abuse of his friends seemed to intensify his loyalty and cause him to put forth renewed efforts in their behalf.

I have read that in the Koran it is said: "When a man dies, they who survive him ask what property he has left behind," but the angel, the messenger from heaven, who bends over the dying man, asks what good deeds he has sent before him.

When Senator HANNA invited me, with other friends, to attend a dinner and reception he gave last year in this city to General Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, I asked him, "Do you believe in the doctrine General Booth preaches?" He replied: "I believe in the great and good work in which the Salvation Army is engaged, and the practical results which we see from their efforts. They are reclaiming thousands of men and women from lives of dissipation and shame to those of usefulness and good citizenship. This, to my mind, is practical Christianity, and every month I make it a rule to give my contribution toward this splendid work."

Senator HANNA was a successful man in the business affairs of life, and industry, application, patience, and integrity were the only secrets of his success. But the

acquisition of wealth was to him, aside from providing bountifully for those who were near and dear to him, to do good to others and to make the world better because he had lived.

The great problem was how to bring each side to look at the industrial field as one, and not two fields occupied by hostile interests; to show that hostility is suicide, in that the injury of one of the elements of production brings destruction to production itself, wherein all concerned, both laborers and capitalists, must suffer as surely as must the human being when the limbs are severed from the body. I think his policy in dealing with this question was not unlike that of the physician who treats bodily ills. The industrial body, like the human body, is an entity. Every part is essential to every other part. When the head aches from disorganization of the functions of the liver the latter organ is not extirpated, for that would mean death to the whole organism. When intense cerebral disturbance interferes with digestion the brain is not removed, for that likewise would mean death. The physician strives to discover the cause of the abnormal conditions which show their effects in remote organs, and by restoring a condition of health to one part to restore the normal well-being of all. When disease gets beyond human control, and loss of functions results or amputation becomes necessary, the organism can never recover its lost power, and its efficiency is permanently impaired.

It is thus with labor and capital, and that fact was the fundamental one on which Senator HANNA based his effort for the restoration of healthy industrial conditions. His

aim was to ascertain the cause of discontent, whether injustice, actual or imaginary, unreasonable demands on the part of labor or of capital, or simply misunderstanding due to ignorance of existing conditions. Whatever the disease of the industrial body, he would cure by such remedies as would restore the natural conditions through the education of those most intimately concerned. Ignorance, misunderstanding, intolerance, passion, greed, and revenge are the diseases of the body industrial which bring in their train weakness, inefficiency, and, if not quickly cured, disaster and death. But they are curable diseases, and this was what caused Senator HANNA to bring to bear upon the problems they presented that wide sympathy, that profound knowledge of men, that faith in the efficacy of reason which made him, like the tried and trusted physician, a man in whom all could put confidence, knowing that his sole aim was to restore to healthful activity the industrial world.

It seems an easy lesson to learn if capital and labor will but reason together, for the laborer of to-day is the capitalist of to-morrow, and he who ranks as a capitalist to-day may, by adversity and misfortune, again become a laborer. Every avenue to education, to honor, to fame, and wealth are open to the poorest boy and girl in our land, and they will surely win if they have industry and perseverance. There can be no class distinction in a government where the people are the source of all power. Here character is the shibboleth that opens the door which reveals to us our duty as citizens of our common country.

Had Senator HANNA lived ten years I believe that he

would have seen the great and good results of his work. I believe that he would have brought about that understanding between capital and labor which must be attained before the dangers which confront us can be removed. I believe that he, of all men, was best qualified for the work in hand and would have been measurably successful; that he would have made it plain that the laborer and the capitalist have identical interests, and that the injury of one is the injury of the other; that they must work together for the common aim of the prosperity and well-being of all concerned; that sympathy must take the place of discord, and that man has no rights as against another, the enforcement of which would tend to disorganize the social fabric. This object, I believe, was that to which Senator HANNA had devoted the remainder of his life, and this unselfishness is one of the lessons we may learn from him to whose memory we to-day pay tribute.

It is hard and sad to realize that we shall never see him here again. But such is the common lot of all. It is as natural to die as it is to be born and live. The sands in the life glass of each one of us here to-day are surely falling, and the places that we now fill will know us no more forever. Ah, mystery of death, and greater mystery of life! The human mind can not comprehend that which the Infinite has not revealed. May we have faith in the promise that death is the gateway of a new life.

When we solemnly and with aching heart bore the last earthly remains of our friend from the capital of the nation to his beautiful home, it was a day of sorrow and grief for the good people of the city by the lake. Business was

suspended, buildings draped in mourning, and with sympathetic voice and face all united in paying their last sad tribute of respect to the memory of their friend and his bereaved family. Reverently to mother earth we consigned him, believing his spirit can never die and his influence will be a benediction to the living.

I stood a short time since upon the shore of the Pacific coast, and as I watched the sun sink beneath the ocean horizon and the gloaming twilight blend into darkness, I turned away with sadness, as it seemed as if the orb of day had disappeared never to return. But the coming morning brought it back again in resplendent glory and beauty, giving life and vitality to a slumbering world. So, may we not hope that in the bright morn of the resurrection we shall again meet our friend and brother?

Address of Mr. Depew, of New York

Mr. President: A commanding figure and positive force has passed out of our public life. It is difficult to estimate the qualities of leadership, but the facts remain. Neither the progress of civilization nor the development of the education and independence of the individual has minimized the power of a commanding intelligence. On the contrary, organization keeps pace with progress. The individual is not submerged in the mass nor left helpless as the slave of a tyrant nor food for powder, as in ruder times, but he looks to and loves to follow a leader for the accomplishment of purposes which will benefit both the mass and its units. "All for one" was the motto of the past. "All for one and one for all" is the maxim of the present. Napoleon brushed aside the charge that he was the butcher of his age by saying, "I only killed a million, mostly Germans." He did not reckon the countless millions who died of starvation and disease as a result of his wars and devastating marches. He did not reckon the suffering and ruin which required a century to repair.

The requisites for leadership are different in every age. Neither Cæsar nor Napoleon would have any place in our country or under our conditions. The problems which produced Washington, and afterwards the great trinity of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, and still later Lincoln and Grant, are not ours. They led their forces into battles for

the bases upon which government should be constructed and institutions founded. Our age is dominated by commercialism. Like all phrases which concentrate in a word the description of conditions, this one has been subject to abuse, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation. For thirty years, or since the adjustments which followed the civil war, the United States has been a workshop. Its industries and their development have been as dependent upon politics and the triumph of political policies as was the existence of the Government of the United States as a great central power, or its division into sovereign States before the civil war. Each party promises success to commercialism by pleading that its ideas crystallized into legislation will bring larger and more remunerative employment to labor and capital, form more new enterprises, lead to larger development of resources, and produce more beneficent results to the people.

These questions are not new, but they have always been subordinated to others which related to the safety or the character of our institutions. Now they are dominant and have produced a new type of leadership. In the front rank stood our departed friend. He was the product as well as the organizer and commander of the forces of commercialism. His origin and growth were those of every boy whose alma mater is the public school. It equipped him for a clerkship in a store, which is the lot of millions who graduate every year. What happens afterwards, what career is found and followed to higher and better conditions, depends entirely upon the character, ambition, and efforts of the boy. The restless and resistless vigor of this farseeing

youth could not be kept behind the counter nor confined to the countingroom. When to the culture of the common school had been added business training, he saw that to advance quickly he must open a new avenue of trade. Like many another of our most successful citizens, he found it in solving a local problem of transportation. It was easy for him to persuade capital to trust him. It was one of the few cases where capital, confiding in the promoter, escaped loss and made large profits.

To bring the iron ore of the Northwest from the mines across the Lakes cheaply to the furnaces in Ohio was simple enough, but, like the great feat of Columbus, which has been repeated down the ages, of making the egg stand on end, was his solution of the greater problem. This next step was natural to such an original and creative mind. Coal and iron must be brought together at the furnaces by the elimination of the countless charges of middlemen. He became an ironmaster, with his own lines on Lake Superior, his own transportation across the Great Lakes, his own coal fields connected with smelting works and mills. The minerals in which he dealt underlie the whole American continent. They can not be corralled or controlled as is possible with other products of nature which are only to be found in limited territories. He was therefore compelled to fight his way in the field of hot competition against the ablest and most successful of business men. The results of this struggle are preeminently the survival of the fittest. Statisticians who have studied the question prove that in New York City, where energy, talent, and capital come from all parts of the country and have larger opportunities than can be

found at home, only one in 200 succeed. The other 199 fail and are submerged. In the open country the disasters are not so dreadful, but the great successes are equally rare.

It was not long before Mr. HANNA was confronted with the labor problem. Labor organizations were little known and had no combined existence at that time. The aspirations of labor, seeking a fair share of the production in which it was such an essential part, led to sporadic revolts, which were almost invariably defeated. This born fighter, with undaunted courage and a physical power controlling, in a measure, an aggressive mind, followed the methods in vogue in the early period of his career. One of the characteristics which made the varied success of the Senator was his open-mindedness. He saw earlier than any of the other great employers that labor had rights, and that it was to the interest of the capitalist both to grant justice to labor and to win its confidence. He abandoned hostilities for the much more difficult path of conciliation and arbitration. Ten thousand employees of his, who when he died mourned the loss of one who stood to them as a father and a friend, testified to the wisdom and success of his policy.

A life of strenuous business struggling, of reaching out for new fields to conquer, of education by absorption in the questions affecting industrial safety and development, of contact with and increasing knowledge of human nature in every walk and work continued until Mr. HANNA was in his sixtieth year. This was the education, preparation, and equipment which from the obscurity of business brought into the light of publicity and command, almost in a day,

HANNA the party organizer, the party leader, the President maker, the Senator, and the statesman.

In his early business life, still very young to have climbed so high, and while fighting labor, he had on trial a score or more of his striking employees. A young enthusiast, whose heart controlled his mind, who possessed an almost feminine emotional and sentimental nature, was defending them. The argument of McKinley evidently opened the mind of HANNA to new ideas upon the relations of capital and labor. The advocate and worker immediately became fast friends.

Comparatively late in life came to him the belief that nothing is so imperatively necessary to the business man as politics. Costly experience had taught him that the successful outcome of his shops, furnaces, and mines was dependent upon the industrial policies of the Government. He had the easy confidence of the man triumphant in his ventures, that he could forecast and meet trade conditions. But the factor of legislation was beyond his power of calculation. He finally was convinced that the accumulations of a lifetime of hard work and the material future of himself and family depended upon the economic and financial measures of Presidents and Congresses. Without any thought of obtaining or holding office for himself, he began to build the bulwarks which he thought necessary about the protected industries of the country. With an audacity and confidence born of his triumphs in trade he set about to capture the Presidency for his faith. McKinley's illuminating speeches on the tariff convinced HANNA that in the Major he had found the man for his purpose.

There were many men in the party of longer service,

larger following, and greater reputation. But HANNA brought to bear to win the favor of the people the methods of his business. He knew the virtue of publicity and promotion. He planned a speaking canvass for his candidate which covered every State, because he believed in the magnetic personality and persuasive eloquence of his friend. When, after many months, Mr. McKinley returned, the Senator said to him, "I thought you would be dead;" and McKinley replied, "From the itinerary you gave me I thought your purpose was to kill me." The tour and the literature which went out unceasingly from HANNA'S press bureau captured the convention before it met and sidetracked every other candidate. The unknown ironmaster of Cleveland had beaten the veteran politicians and nominated his friend. Now came a new test of his ability, because the successful candidate placed in his hands the conduct of the campaign. To publicity and promotion he added education. At hardly any period in our history had the country suffered under such severe financial and industrial depression. At such times, as in periods of epidemic, public anxiety and frenzy seize upon novel remedies.

The silver panacea, however, was not new. It had secured much favorable legislation from both parties and was undoubtedly favored in the minds of a large majority of our people. McKinley himself was not free from advocacy of and belief in silver theories. Unexpectedly the currency question overshadowed that of the tariff. No such campaign was ever conducted before, and it would be difficult to repeat it. It required millions of money for its successful prosecution. Colporteurs were on the country roads

in every county and State distributing the campaign literature which HANNA was having printed by the ton. The schoolhouses resounded with the eloquence of thousands of orators, whose expenses must be met. The literary bureau furnished plate matter and contributions to the press, much of which had to be paid for as advertisements. The commanding general alone knew the magnitude of the machinery and the colossal character of the forces he had called into being. With the same talent for administration and attention to details which had made his success in business, he knew the conditions in every State, county, and township, in every division, regiment, company, and corporal's guard of his army better than the local commanders themselves.

The results of the election demonstrated the necessity for this tremendous effort, for McKinley's popular majority in the total of 13,923,102 was only 601,854. The business man, known as such only in the branch of the trade with which he was identified and unknown to the people in June, 1895, was in November of the same year the Warwick of American politics and the most powerful man in the United States.

The President wanted him to be a member of his Cabinet, because of the intimacy of their relation; but HANNA, the business man, the representative of commercialism in public affairs, knew that his power would be subordinate to that of the President as one of his Secretaries, while in Congress his hand would be in the formulation or defeat of those measures which he conceived essential to

the welfare, employment, income, and happiness of the American people.

Quite as suddenly as he grew to be supreme in political management the Senator became an orator. He had been accustomed in the boards of directors of many corporations, where the conferences were more in the nature of consultations than arguments, to influence his associates by the lucidity with which from a full mind he could explain situations and suggest policies or remedies. He did not dare, however, except on rare occasions, to trust himself upon his feet. We, his associates, can never forget the day when a mighty passion loosed his tongue and introduced into the debates of this body an original and powerful speaker. It was June, 1900. The Presidential campaign for the second nomination and canvass of President McKinley was about to open. Senator Pettigrew, an active and persistent laborer in the ranks of the opposition, was seeking material in every direction which would benefit his side. Without notice he suddenly assailed Senator HANNA in his tenderest point. He attacked his honesty, truthfulness, and general character. He accused him of bribery, perjury, and false dealing. HANNA'S reply was not a speech, but an explosion. It was a gigantic effort, in his almost uncontrollable rage, to keep expression within the limits of Senatorial propriety. He shouted in passionate protest:

Mr. President, the gentleman will find that he is mistaken in the people of the United States when he attempts, through mud slinging and accusations, to influence their decision when they are called upon at the polls next November to decide upon the principles that are at issue and

not the men. When it comes to personality, I will stand up against him and compare my character to his. I will let him tell what he knows; then I will tell what I know about him.

The newborn orator carried his threat into execution by a dramatic and picturesque speaking tour through South Dakota, in which, without mentioning Mr. Pettigrew or referring to him in any way, he took away his constituents by convincing them that the doctrines of their Senator were inimical to their interests and prosperity. The Titanic power the Dakota Senator had evoked was his political ruin.

From that time Senator HANNA participated influentially in debates upon those industrial questions which he so thoroughly understood and which were near his heart. The United States had been committed for thirty years to an isthmian canal by the Nicaragua route. It came to be considered as "the American line." The resolution in its favor had passed the House unanimously. Senator HANNA gave to the study of the question, which was purely a business one, a mind long trained in construction and contracts. He came to the conclusion that we should build on the Panama route. There have been many speeches in this Senate more eloquent, more scholarly, more profound, and more erudite than the one delivered by Senator HANNA in favor of the selection of the Panama route; but when this man of business and affairs, of supreme intelligence in the creation and prosecution of business and enterprises, this constructive organizer in trade, who had found his talent for explanation, instruction, and argument, sat down, he had accomplished that rarest of triumphs, the command of a listening Senate.

Perhaps in the final reckoning of his place and achievements, his work in the Civic Federation will stand foremost. At first capital and labor both distrusted him. They thought there was a hidden political motive or personal ambition at the base of the movement. Capitalists who were unfriendly to labor and labor agitators whose profits depend upon trouble united in fighting HANNA as they often had done in fighting peace, but the genuine, patriotic, and broad-minded labor leaders soon became his ardent friends, while the distrust of capital was slowly disappearing. When he died the people recognized that his unselfish object and aim was to close his career by creating such relations between these tremendous forces that both would be benefited and the industrial interests of the country placed upon a safe and peaceful basis.

One of the most interesting phases of the life of Senator HANNA was his friendship with President McKinley. The men were wholly unlike; they had nothing in common. HANNA was a fighter, and he loved and lived in the storms of battle. McKinley was a diplomat, whose tact amounted to genius for the peaceful settlement of controversies and conversion of enemies. HANNA had the rare faculty of forecasting events and taking advantage of them which easily accumulates millions and the rarer common sense which keeps the fortune. McKinley in a large and comprehensive way could formulate and popularize policies which promoted prosperity and increased national and individual wealth, but the art of making money was for him an insoluble mystery, and he could not master the intricacies and details of business.

There is only one parallel instance in our history, and that is the relation between William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed. As HANNA believed that his economic and financial views were essential to the present and future happiness of the country, so Weed thought that the destruction of slavery was necessary to the preservation of the Union. As HANNA felt that he must have in the Presidency the ablest advocate of his theories, so did Weed believe that the most brilliant and profound orator against slavery should be kept in public life, and ultimately promoted to the Chief Magistracy. Thurlow Weed was one of the ablest and most expert of political managers. For thirty years he ruled his party in the State of New York, and subordinated all his power, skill, craft, and diplomacy to advance the political fortunes and keep in the Senate and at the front Governor Seward. Mr. Seward was devoid of the talent which controls caucuses and manages conventions, and so was McKinley. Weed, after twenty years, had the Presidency almost within the grasp of his candidate, and lost it by an accident. In less than a year HANNA had succeeded. Mr. Seward possessed an intelligence of wonderful insight and philosophical grasp of moral issues with the faculty of inspiring beliefs and inducing efforts to bring about the events he forecasted.

McKinley's talent was upon the practical plane of the questions of our day which affect more nearly employment, wages, and homes. Between the practical politician of New York and her greatest statesman there never existed much personal intimacy and confidences. The politician looked

upon the statesman with awe and admiration, and the statesman wondered at the talent, and the results it accomplished, of the politician. But late one night during the Spanish war, when all was anxiety, I went to the White House with Mr. HANNA. The optimistic radiance which always characterized the President had given place to worry and gloom; but when he turned to his visitor and caressingly placed his hands upon Mr. HANNA'S shoulder his countenance assumed all its old-time happiness and confidence, and he uttered, with a depth of feeling and affection which no words can describe, the word "MARK." Everyone was impressed with the fact that two souls with kindred thoughts were linked in a love which "passeth all understanding."

The career of a leader who does not at all hazards and at any risk of loss stand by his friends is a short one. The same is true of a leader who having defeated his enemies seeks to crush them. The accumulated forces of many vendettas will ultimately destroy him. HANNA would go to the death for his friend, and he inspired such loyalty and love that his followers would die for him. He often attached to himself a defeated enemy by a grateful and unexpected favor.

A schoolmate of Mr. HANNA, himself now a creator and manager of great enterprises and known everywhere, told me that the boys of the public school got in trouble with a street peddler and were in danger of being seriously injured when MARK HANNA came in sight. It was not his quarrel, but it was enough for him that his friends were in peril, and he rushed into the fight with such savage fury that the

lads were encouraged, the tide of battle turned, and the burly bully put to flight. The act of the boy was the life-long conduct of the man.

"How soon we are forgotten" was the pathetic utterance of the returning Rip Van Winkle after twenty years of absence from his village. Time soon obliterates the foot-prints of public as well as of private characters; but occasionally a rare personality becomes immortal by capturing the public imagination and winning the people's heart, but such a man must have been long before them and with them fighting their battles. HANNA is the exception. Eight years from the time of his entrance upon the public stage he died. Millions waited anxiously upon the hourly bulletins of his health. Millions mourned silently when he was no more. The President and Cabinet, ambassadors, judges of the Supreme Court, Senators, Congressmen, and captains of industry were at his funeral, but the sincerest tributes to his worth, his patriotism, and the beneficent work of his life were the thousands of working men and women who stood for hours in the deep snow and wintry blasts with bared heads and tear-stained cheeks while their best friend was carried to his last resting place.

Address of Mr. Beveridge, of Indiana

Mr. President: Since to all earthly work an end must come, our words of farewell to a fellow-workman should not alone be those of grief that man's common lot has come to him, but of pride and joy that his task has been done worthily. Powerful men so weave themselves into their hour that, for the moment, it all but seems the world will stop when they depart. Yet it does not stop or even pause. Undisturbed, Time still wings his endless and unwearied flight; and the progress of the race goes on and up toward the light, realizing at every step more and more of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

So it is not important that any of us should long remain; the Master Builder lacks not craftsmen to take our place. But it is important to the uttermost that while we are here we should do our duty to the full perfection of our powers, fearlessly and faithfully, with clean hands, and hearts ever full of kindness, forbearance, charity.

These are the outline thoughts that the absence of our friend compels. With his whole strength he did his work from boyhood to the place of rest. He was no miser of his life—he poured it into discharge of duty, keeping with Nature no account of heart beats.

The things he did were real things. He was the very spirit of the practical. Yet the practical did not kill or

even impair the human in him. He never lost the gift of lovableness. His sense of human touch and fellowship was not dulled, but made more delicate by Time and the World. The years made him wiser, but they made him mellower, too.

And so he won the people's affection as well as their applause. And affection is worth more than applause. There is no greater glory than this—to make a nation your friend. Senator HANNA did that. For when the angel of peace, which men call Death, took our brother to his well-earned rest the people knew that a friend had left them. And the people were sad that he had gone away.

This human quality in him made all he did a living thing, all he said a living word. He was the man of affairs in statesmanship; yet his personality gave to propositions of mere national business something of the warmth and vitality of principles. He was the personification of our commercial age—the age of building, planting, reaping; of ships on ocean and on land steel highways and the rolling wheels of trade; of that movement of the times which knits together with something more than verbal ties all the children of men, weaves tangible civilization around the globe and will, in time, make of all peoples neighbors, brothers, friends.

Thus he was, unwittingly no doubt, one of the agents of God's great purpose of the unification of the race. We are all such agents, small or great. If this is not so—if we are not, ignorantly perhaps and blindly but still surely, spinning our lives into the Master's design, whose pattern He alone can comprehend—if we and all things are not

working together for good—if life is but a breath exhaled and then forever lost, our work means less and is worth less than that of coral insects, which, from the depths, build ever toward the light until islands stand above the waves, permanent monuments of an intelligent architecture.

Work with real things—real earth, real ocean, real mountains, real men—made him conservative. And his conservatism was real. Much that is accepted as conservatism is spurious, mere make-believe. Conservatism does not mean doubt or indecision. It does not mean wise looks, masking vacuity, nor pompous phrase, as meaningless as it is solemn. Conservatism means clear common sense, which equally rejects the fanaticism of precedent and the fanaticism of change. It would not have midnight last just because it exists; and yet it knows that dawn comes not in a flash, but gradually—comes with a grand and beautiful moderation. So the conservative is the real statesman. He brings things to pass in a way that lasts and does good. Senator HANNA was a conservative.

Working with real things among real men also kept fresh his faith and hope. No sailer of the seas, no delver in the earth, no builder of rooftree can be a pessimist. He who plants doubts not our common mother's generosity, or fails to see in the brown furrow the certainty of coming harvests. He who sinks a well and witnesses the waters rise understands that the eternal fountains will never cease to flow. Only the man whose hands never touch the realities of life despairs of human progress or doubts the providence of God. The fable of Antæus is literal truth for body, mind, and soul. And so, Senator

HANNA dealing with living men and the actualities of existence had all the virile hope of youth, all the unquestioning faith of prophecy. These are the qualities of the effective leadership of men.

He is gone from us—gone before us. Strength and frailty, kindness and wrath, wisdom and folly, laughter and frown, all the elements of life and his living of it have ceased their visible play and action. "Where," said despairing Villon, "where are the snows of yesteryear?" Vanished, he would have us believe. Yes, but vanished only in form. "The snows of yesteryear" are in the stream, in cloud and rain, in sap of tree and bloom of flower, in heart and brain of talent and of beauty. Nothing is lost even here on our ancient and kindly earth. So the energies of our friend, and those of all men, have touched into activity forces that, influencing still others, will move on forever.

As to the other life, we know not fully what it is; but that it is, we know. Knowing this, we who are left behind go on about our daily tasks, assured that in another and truer existence our friend is now established, weakness cast aside as a cloak when Winter has passed, vision clear as when at dawn we wake from dreams, heart happy as when, the victory won, we cease from effort and from care. For him the night is done, and it is written that "joy cometh in the morning."

Address of Mr. Dolliver, of Iowa

Mr. President: I would not at this hour be disposed to add anything to the tributes which have been paid here to-day to the memory of the late Senator Hanna were it not for the fact that I have felt since he went away from us how much I owe to his kindness and friendly interest in me; and so I venture to speak a few words out of the gratitude of my heart.

The epoch which brought him into the arena of American public life, though only a few years have passed, has been stricken in a strange way. The central figure of that epoch, President McKinley, is gone; Governor Dingley, famous and useful in the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, is no more; Thomas B. Reed, that wonderful parliamentary hand which brought in the new order of things in representative government in the United States, is seen no longer among us; and here we are to-day paying our last tribute to one who in an important sense mastered more perfectly than any of these the great situation in which each played so conspicuous a part.

I have been impressed by the general recognition which has been given in these memorial exercises to the business man in American public life. It is true, in a sense more important than we have understood, that an age like this

naturally calls into the public service the men who have given leadership to its great industrial and commercial affairs.

I have sometimes pondered over suggestions in the public press that the Congress of the United States is being invaded by millionaires and men of wealth. I have never had any anxiety about that. I regard it as a true sign of our political health that in times like these men of great business affairs have their ambition stirred to take part in the administration of the Government of the United States.

I remember when I first came to this Capitol watching the industry and activity and marking the influence in this body of such men as Senator Sawyer, of Wisconsin; Senator Stockbridge, of Michigan; Senator Stanford and Senator Hearst, of California, and sometimes wondering whether their presence here portended a healthful tendency in our public life. I count it now as the finest evidence of the adaptability of our institutions to our new commercial and industrial situation that the influence of money has not been able to keep out of American public life men successful in business affairs in all the departments of commerce and of industry. If money were everything, if men could by piling up riches satisfy all their ambitions, and content themselves by the mere fame of being rich, there would be no limit to the carnival of avarice and greed in the world.

The education which Senator HANNA had as a man of affairs was the exact qualification needed for usefulness in the Congress of the United States. It always seemed to me a curious thing, at least, that his first entrance into the

public arena should have been after the age of 60 years; and in meditating upon that it has appeared to me that the secret of it lies in the fact that the education of the man, his real preparation for a work like this, was the spirit in which he approached even the humble tasks which engaged his attention throughout his life. It was a part of the quality of the intellect of Senator HANNA that he was able to idealize the occupations of his previous career, and in reality he brought into this Chamber a special and peculiar training for the questions with which the Government of the United States has to deal.

I have never wondered, as so many have, that he suddenly developed into a great orator. In studying the peculiarities of Senator HANNA—and I confess that I was interested in them from the very beginning of my acquaintance with him—it appeared to me that his case showed that the human mind is so organized that any man who has a true thing to say is not holden in the faculty of saying it. There is a mode of eloquence, fortunately now nearly obsolete, which needs neither clear thinking nor even any thinking at all to make itself fairly acceptable; but the man who understands, who has explored his subject in all its hidden parts, who opens his mouth with the authority of actual knowledge, such a man has nothing to fear in a debate in a place like this.

I was present in 1900 at the stock yards in Chicago when I had a glimpse of the colossal personality of this man which made a very profound impression on my mind. We took him down there to speak to the working people of Chicago and, curiously enough—a very strange anomaly under

institutions like ours—a large part of the audience had assembled there not to listen to him, but to prevent him from speaking; and with noise, riot, tumult, disturbance, and breach of peace, in a measure almost unimaginable in a country like ours, that surging multitude for one hour and thirty minutes fought an unequal battle with the genius of a single man; and at 10 o'clock the audience calmed, controlled, fascinated, he began one of the most remarkable political speeches it was ever my good fortune to hear.

So I was not surprised in this Chamber when he came here dealing with questions about which he knew more than anybody else—questions like the revival of the merchant marine; questions like the Panama Canal—that he was able to stand on this floor and in simple, plain, direct speech discuss them with a skill that was hardly less, if at all less, than the most effective debating power we have had in the public life of the United States.

There is another thing which I have thought a good deal about in reflecting upon Senator HANNA'S career, and that was that contact with practical affairs enabled him to see not only the importance but the difficulty of the greatest problem that now presses upon our Government and upon all the governments of the world.

He had known for a good many years that if American society is to go on, if civilization itself is not to halt in its progress, some solution must be found of the disputes rapidly settling into a state of fixed and permanent hostility between the men and women who work for their living and the men who employ them. He had more knowledge of that question than any of us, because he had touched it

from a greater variety of standpoints, so that he brought to the labor question a wealth of experience and of personal interest that enabled him easily, and without interfering with his public duties here, to become the leader of a far-reaching movement to bring about an understanding and treaty of permanent peace between the contending industrial forces. The thing about his philosophy of more importance than anything else was the fact that he recognized that this peace will not be brought about by legislation, will not be brought about by the devices of human government, but that underlying this problem, and nearly all the other problems of society, is the individuality of the men who employ labor and the individuality of the unnumbered millions who do the work of this world.

So this man in his old age rose to a level higher than mere statesmanship. He got a prophetic insight, which he had almost alone among our public men, that the labor question is a larger question than mere legislation; that its final solution depends upon principles which underlie the moral structure of society, and are more intricate than all the machinery of the Government; that if the problem ever finds a solution, it will be through the practical application to the daily life of the world of those Divine precepts which are the chief inheritance of these Christian centuries. To my mind the best contribution to present-day thinking upon the labor problem was that higher vision which Senator HANNA in his old age received, when he declared, in the last public utterance he ever made, that the rights of labor and the rights of capital will find their permanent adjustment in that fundamental truth of the gospel through which

the law of the human brotherhood, and with it the perfect code of social justice, is revealed.

In studying the life of Senator HANNA I was impressed by the immediate victory which the man's character won over his enemies when the people of the United States once got a fair look at him. In the quiet of the national committee headquarters everybody loved him. In two campaigns I remember in going there how everyone, from the elevator boy to the Senator's associates on the committee, referred to him in familiar terms as "The Old Man." The "old man" he was to them, and "the boys" they were to him. No slander could touch him in the society of those who knew him. But the American public is large—80,000,000 of people—bombarded day by day with newspapers and pictures and the smooth inventions of political malice, and at the end of the campaign Senator HANNA was the most misunderstood man in American public life.

He came into this Chamber. He met the representatives of public opinion, including the members of the press gallery yonder—just men, able, and willing to measure a man by a fair standard—and within a year that cloud of calumny had rolled away. Everybody who saw him recognized at once that he was an authentic man; everybody who had business with him saw that he was a man of good heart and humane impulses; and when men came to know his intellectual grasp he passed from the category of suspicious public characters to the list of honored and trusted statesmen in the service of his country. Such was the victory of the man's character over the crusade of scandal and disparagement to which he had been so strangely subjected as he

undertook to manage honorably and squarely the fortunes of a great political party.

The thing about him, however, which comes nearest to me, and, I think, nearest to everybody who listens to me here, is the fact that he had those qualities in him which excite, not alone admiration, not alone approval, but love and confidence in the deepest and truest sense. He had no artificial suavity of manner in his approach to the public, but he had what is vastly more serviceable even in the cheaper relations of political life, he had by nature a benevolent outlook on the world and a cordial sentiment for every man, however humble, who was brought into contact with him. His love for McKinley was only a part of his loving relations with the world in which he lived. Nobody ever saw him in this chamber without feeling the influence of his cheerful disposition and of his helpful attitude toward everybody here.

The words which have been spoken with such eloquence by Senators on the other side of this Chamber not only show the kindliness which underlies our politics, whatever may be our differences, but interpret in a beautiful and suggestive way the surrender of all opposition to this gentle and benignant character. I recall the day I saw him after the funeral of poor McKinley. The procession had gone away, the pomp and ceremony of the hour had passed, and toward night I happened to be standing near the cemetery gate, and there, alone, in the rain, leaning on a crutch, careless of his surroundings, tears falling upon his care-worn face, I saw this good and great man. I did not venture to speak to him, but as I turned away I said to myself, as I thought of

William McKinley's political fortune, of the splendor of his career, of the fame which had increased year by year as he rose from the obscurity of a country law office until at last he stood upon the highest civic eminence known among men, that in all future generations, as his countrymen make their pilgrimage to look with reverent emotion upon the grave of the martyred President, there will be few among them who will not think also of the man whose fame is joined with his, of the friend whose heart was broken in the tragedy of the national sorrow, of the reunion on unseen shores, where all the mysteries of life and death are made plain at last.

Address of Mr. Kearns, of Utah

Mr. President: I count it a special privilege to participate in these exercises to-day, which commemorate the life and character of that great American, that loyal friend and matchless leader, Marcus A. Hanna. Together with the thousands who knew him, I hold in grateful remembrance the share I had of that great heart, whose every pulsation was of kindness and love.

His life is the ideal for which the youth of our country should strive. In his intercourse with men he was all that stands for sterling manhood, and he surrounded his home with a halo of purity and love.

By his own endeavors he became a captain of industry and the foremost statesman of his time. Cruelly caricatured as the enemy of labor, vilified and misunderstood, he lived at last to hear the cheers of labor hailing him as its champion, and to realize he had won the confidence of the whole people. He discouraged the efforts of his friends to elevate him to the highest office in the gift of the people, and said he preferred to spend the remaining years of his life in the consummation of a better understanding between capital and labor. Here, indeed, is an example of devotion to the cause of mankind that had no other consideration than that which comes from a consciousness of welldoing, a heritage of which any man may well be proud.

Mr. HANNA was modest and unassuming, yet possessed of that nervous energy that begets success. He loved his friends and was ever willing to labor for them. Their success was his keenest pleasure, and with them he felt the sting of defeat. And, Mr. President, it was this godlike trait that rallied the legions to his cause.

The Middle West had heard of Mr. HANNA prior to 1896, and when the Republican convention of that year met at St. Louis I sought him out that I might know him better. The impression he made was that of a born leader of men—kindly, forceful, honest, and just. His frankness inspired confidence, his ability commanded respect, and his lovable nature won all who knew him as a friend.

In the memorable campaign of 1896 he demonstrated a new kind of politics. Himself a successful business man, he contended that business methods could be applied with equal success to politics. The organization of the Republican party of that year was a marvel of completeness. He was a master of detail, and no point, however obscure, was neglected in the consideration of a proposition.

Mr. HANNA'S service in the Senate is one of the brightest pages in his career. Here we found him a careful and conservative legislator, broad in his views, and kind and considerate of others. He enjoyed the confidence of his colleagues, and the whole people came to regard him as a statesman of the highest integrity, and one in whose judgment every reliance could be placed.

But, Mr. President, however great Mr. HANNA was as a public servant, it was eclipsed in his domestic life. Here, indeed, we find the genial host, the lovable husband and

father, traits that shine brightly in the crown his friends have made for him.

And when, Mr. President, all else of him has been forgotten, the evergreen of his career will be the love he bore his fellow-man. Like Abou ben Adhem, his name leads all the rest.

Address of Mr. Dick. of Ohio

Mr. President and Senators: Every friend of Senator Hanna, and they were legion, will thank you for your tributes of respect and your words of affection. This gratitude may never find outward expression, but in their behalf, and especially for Ohio—that grand old State to which he was devoted, which in turn was devoted to him—I gratefully thank you. This assumed duty will be pardoned, I am sure, when it is realized or remembered that to me this man was like an older brother.

Marcus A. Hanna, born September 24, 1837, in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, died in Washington, February 15, 1904, in the discharge of his duties as Senator from his native State. It was not his fortune to be born in poverty, nor did affluence in early years hinder his growth and development. He belonged to the great middle class of fairly well-to-do Americans, who are richest perhaps in their descent from long lines of sturdy, intelligent, God-fearing ancestors.

If, as has been said, God sifted the whole world to find men worthy the high calling of founding a new nation, as truly may it be said that all the original States of the Federal Union contributed to the making of Ohio, the first State of the nineteenth century, the first new State formed out of national territory. Here converged nearly all the

early lines of continental travel. Here came the Puritan and the Cavalier, the Scotch-Irish, and those of pure Teutonic and Gallic blood; Lutheran, Presbyterian, Catholic, and Quaker. Connecticut bounded the State on the north, and Massachusetts and New Jersey and Virginia on the south. New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia furnished generous contributions to her population.

The abolition of slavery in the Northwest Territory drew to Ohio some of the best blood of the far South. All these coalesced to form a type of stalwart, intensely patriotic Americans. Here the tide of western migration halted for a time. It is by no accident that Ohio has furnished so many distinguished sons to the galaxy of our national heroes. The cause is found in the circumstances of her birth and development, in the composite character of her early settlers.

Mr. HANNA was a type of that mixture of elements so characteristic of his State. In his family is to be found Scotch-Irish, Cavalier and Puritan, Presbyterian and Quaker stock. His ancestors were pioneers. They were among the more hardy and venturesome spirits of the older settlements who followed the frontier as it receded westward.

The father was a country physician, who left a good practice in eastern Ohio and moved farther west, to Cleveland, then a town of fair promise, and engaged in merchandising because of the wider field it offered for achieving success. In his father's store the future Senator received his first training in business. The beginnings were small but prosperous. He spent a year in the Western Reserve College, with what benefit to himself he declared he never felt certain,

though he doubtless builded more wisely than he knew. He served a brief enlistment in the Union armies. The years which immediately followed were years of commercial upbuilding and expansion. His training was in the problems which confront the man of large affairs. He learned to seize the strategic points of business growth and success.

Thus he spent nearly a lifetime in business and with scarcely a thought for other matters. By his hard common sense he won the confidence of his associates and was a leader among them. He had the tremendous personal force of an aggressive mentality. He was as stalwart in mind as he was in body. His strength lay largely in the directness of his methods. He was a masterful man, possessing at all times definite aims in life. He saw with a clear eye, and was able by force of intellect and character to make other men think as he did. He was a man who accomplished results, a leader who led. His business methods were conservative. He was never a speculator, except as all business is a venture. He was constructive, but not a promoter.

He developed great executive ability and built up great business enterprises which survive him. He selected his lieutenants, apportioned the work, directed in a general way without burdening his mind with details, and looked with confidence for results. He did not have the patience for infinite detail, but the greater power of conceiving and executing great undertakings. His success was the result of long years of preparation. He commanded success because he deserved it. Growing wealth developed in him the kindlier and more humane side. He gave freely and

cheerfully, but modestly and without show. His charity was discriminating. His daily life was wholesome and clean, his pleasures were simple, his tastes natural. He was a most useful man to his community, but his mettle was yet untried.

At an age when most successful men think of retiring to pass the remainder of their years in ease and quiet he stepped into a larger field of action which immediately brought him into public notice. His motive for entering politics was as unusual as his success was remarkable. He sought not to advance himself, but to advance others. His friendship for Garfield led him to take an increasing interest in politics; his love for McKinley absorbed his entire being. His devotion was unselfish and unwearying. The story of this mutual attachment is one of the idyls of American politics. With the same farseeing vision which marked his judgment in business affairs he predicted the elevation of his chosen leader.

Politics became for a time the passion of his life. He laid his plans far in advance and organized his forces with consummate skill. The victory he won in the preconvention campaign of 1896 was so complete that it obscured the magnitude of the struggle. Success was so overwhelming that one was tempted to forget there had been a struggle. No man who participated therein, however, could make that mistake. A political campaign followed which alarmed the country and made business interests anxious. More money was offered him for the purpose of waging the contest than could be used. The statement of his expenditures could safely have been disclosed to the whole world.

He handled large sums in the conduct of two national campaigns, but spent it all for education and organization. He was willing to give much for these purposes, but not a dollar for corruption. He brought business methods into politics, the direct, simple business methods of an honest, God-fearing, American business man.

If he married business to politics, it was because he brought to politics the same honesty, directness, and straightforwardness essential to business success. This country need never fear commercialism in politics as long as commercialism stands for Senator HANNA'S methods and practices. Business men had been in politics before, but the advent of this business man with his frank, open methods came as a surprise and something of a shock to many party workers. He was a captain of industry who commanded his lieutenants. He was accustomed to say to this man, "Go," and he went; to another man, "Come," and he came. He managed campaigns the same way, and the innovation was not at first entirely acceptable. The ways of political managers had been looked upon as devious and secret; their comings and goings subterranean and nocturnal. He brought daylight into dark places, conducted his first national campaign as he planned and carried on industrial undertakings. The stockholders always had access to the books. This is a commercial era, and if he brought business methods into politics, who will say it has not been to the great advantage of politics?

The only political office he ever held, except membership in the school board of the city of his adoption, was a seat in this body. He was still serving his first full term and

had been elected to another. The contrast between the circumstances attending these two elections marks the progress of popular knowledge of the man. In both campaigns he was indorsed by the State convention of his party, the nearest practical approach, perhaps, to election to the Senate by direct vote of the people. At the first election the margin of party success was narrow, but apparently entirely sufficient until factious opposition raised its ugly head within his own party. Men high in its confidence and enjoying honors granted at its hands joined to defeat the expressed will of the people. There was no scheme too desperate to be resorted to.

The intensity and bitterness of that struggle no one can appreciate who was not a part of it. It required an uprising of the people in their majesty and wrath to register the verdict which they had instructed. The people spoke, and in no uncertain terms. By resolutions and delegations and informally appointed committees they assailed those who were dallying with dishonor or were listening to golden-tongued tempters. They did not speak in vain, and the State was spared the misfortune, and worse, of violated instructions and tainted honor. Six years later he was the candidate of a united party for reelection. The State convention again declared him the nominee of his party. He was now its acknowledged leader and idol, and the chief issue in the campaign. The result was an overwhelming personal triumph. He was returned to this body by the largest majority ever given in the State of Ohio.

Senator HANNA was not merely a scholar; he was more than that; he was a thinker who did not permit others to

think for him, and he put his best thought in his daily life. He was not an orator in the sense that polished paragraph and stately language makes an orator, and he never prepared a set speech. When he first attempted to speak in public he spoke haltingly and hesitatingly, but practice gave him power. He developed amazingly in the faculty of apt and forceful expression. Much speaking gave him ease and self-confidence. He developed the power that was within him and became a convincing speaker. He believed what he said and said it in a way that carried conviction. When he spoke it was from a full heart and a mind richly stored with his subject. He talked the speech of common, every-day life, the vernacular of the plain people; and he talked to them, not over them. He had the gift of homely phrase, and these phrases often crystallized into campaign cries. He used language to express thought, not to conceal it; speech was given him not to hide truth, but to proclaim it. Few public speakers have been more popular, have drawn larger audiences, or moved them more profoundly.

The enthusiasm and devotion he awakened are only possible to strong men. As he was loyal to others, so were his friends loyal to him. Those who knew him best loved him most. The Old Guard was not more faithful to Napoleon than Mr. HANNA's friends were to him.

Do we realize the great handicap of wealth—that no man with the possessions he acquired ever rose to great national estate? He achieved greatness not because of his wealth, but in spite of it. No man ever grew so rapidly in influence and power, and no man who entered politics so late in life ever rose so high. Success and high station in politics,

as a rule, come only to those who have served an apprenticeship in lower places. He sprang, full panoplied and equipped, into the arena of national activity.

We seek for comparisons, but none can be made, because no man achieved so great a success who was in public life as short a time as he was. No other man who wrought in the double field of industry and politics ever achieved so great a success in both. He applied the straightforward, honest methods of upright business dealing to affairs of party and of state. The country was surprised, doubted, and then applauded. He revolutionized politics by putting it on a business basis. He interested business in politics, to the distinct advantage of the latter.

He was distinctly the product of his day and generation—a typical American of the latter part of the nineteenth century. He was constructive in politics and in legislation, aa he was in business. He was interested in building up instead of tearing down.

His greatest achievement in this body of which record appears was in converting a hostile majority to favor the route for an isthmian canal which his judgment declared was the best. He came to this conclusion only after most thorough investigation. When he entered upon this contest few of the Members of Congress agreed with him. The claims of the other route had been written into party platforms, and he was told that his efforts would be futile. He entered upon the contest with all the zeal and energy of his strong nature. By personal appeals, by labors in committee and on this floor, he urged his views. The country as well as Congress, when the final judgment was reached, was con-

verted to his views and no one longer seriously questions the soundness of that position.

It is given to few men to complete the tasks they set before them. Man's plans are not often God's plans. Lincoln saw the end of armed strife, but it was not given his sublime patience to solve the trying problems which followed. We had not yet drunk the cup of bitterness to the dregs. McKinley saw the end of armed opposition to our national authority at the close of another war, but was taken away leaving many vital problems unsolved. Mr. HANNA did much; few men did so much in such a brief term, but his greatest task lay before him. Business success and political preferment became to him means to an end. He felt the necessity of saner methods for settling disputes between labor and capital. He devoted himself to the cause of industrial peace and social justice. To this great end he had consecrated the rest of his life, and had arranged his business affairs that they need no longer engage his attention. He repeatedly declared he would rather settle the labor problem than be President.

Labor grew to trust him, to abide by his judgment, realizing his friendship based on long years of service. In a political address delivered in Ashtabula, where he employed many thousand men, he declared, "If I have ever wronged any man in my employ I will resign my seat." That challenge went unaccepted. He wronged no man; gave no man just cause for offense. His own employees felt his sympathy. He had stood in the way of projected business consolidations which threatened to sacrifice men who had grown gray in his service. He declined to accumulate greater

wealth at the expense of those who had helped him build up his fortunes. This showed the great heart of the man—his tender, sympathetic interest in his fellow-men. The greatest good he did was what he accomplished and tried to accomplish to solve the great industrial problem. His greatest service there lay in making labor and capital better acquainted. He was the great peacemaker. In this field there is no one to take his place, no one so high as he in the confidence of interests which oppose each other because they do not understand each other.

Mr. HANNA'S response to his physicians' appeal to help them, made in his last illness, was characteristic of the man, "I'll do the best I can." He always did the best he could, always contended with all his might. He was the sturdy fighter who waged war not merely to win but to overwhelm his antagonist. While he did not seek such conflicts, he did not avoid them. Once involved, the martial spirit in him rose to battle pitch. He fought in the open, gave hard blows, and took them manfully. He fought to conquer and to conquer overwhelmingly, but, truce declared and peace effected, he harbored no resentment and punished no enemies. He not merely forgave, he forgot.

True, he was not satisfied with a narrow margin of victory; it must be decisive. Even when success was absolutely assured he did not relax in his efforts in the least. This feeling was misunderstood and led to misconception, and was the great source of the excess of caricature from which he suffered. He needed only to be thoroughly known to be vindicated of all charges. Kindlier feelings and a more generous appreciation succeeded to distrust and

malignity. Vituperation and abuse recoiled from him. He went his way serene, calm, cheerful, and undisturbed. It was his good fortune to live to see all the shafts of malice blunted and turned back on his assailers. For eight years the strong searchlight of infinite inquiry was focused upon him, but nothing mean or small was ever disclosed. His life was an open book, every page as clean as the first.

He had no secret longings for other political honors. He was great enough to put aside any such ambition, and was never greater than in resisting the flattery of those who would have made him a national standard bearer. The public will know but little of the great pressure brought to bear upon him to accept this crown, nor did he, like Cæsar, refuse each time with less and less insistence. He was firm to the last, because he felt he was following the path in which his duty lay. He had given his word he would not be a candidate, and he kept his faith.

Measure him from whatever point you choose, his sturdy honesty shines preeminent. The arts of the demagogue he scorned. He hated all shams and artifice. He had no secret, dark-chamber method of achieving results. He did not win by intrigue. He worked in the open; his methods might at any time have been laid bare to the gaze of the world. There was no secret in his handling of men. He was honest, frank, sincere, sympathetic, friendly. His friendships were not confined within the narrow circle of party politics, for he gained the admiration and respect of those who would not agree with him. His honesty and sincerity no one could doubt. If he was devoted to any cause, it was on account of its righteousness and justice, as

he viewed it. He never concealed personal and selfish aims under the guise of advocating public measures. He was frank and open in his relations to all legislation. He did not look to the shifting weather vane of public opinion to find direction to guide his steps.

What seemed right to him he did. He never lacked the courage of his convictions. He was modest and unassuming. He never sought applause, and never carried himself to be seen of men. He won no victories on the field of battle; he did not fill the seat of highest authority, but he was a pillar of the State.

He was to a marked degree a well-balanced man, a man sane in all the relations of life. It follows that he was hopeful and optimistic. Cheerfulness and good nature were the very essence of his being. He bore with him at all times the atmosphere of love and sunshine. He was square, brave, and true; a great, tender-hearted, manly man. No one was ever deceived by his bluffness of speech when the beaming eye and kindly smile belied the sense of his words. The catholicity of his interests and sympathies was as boundless as his charities. He had some faults that are common to most men, but he possessed virtues so rare as to challenge recognition and admiration.

He passed away in the height of his power and influence, secure in the knowledge that he was known and honored by the whole country, that all misunderstanding and misconception had passed away; looked up to by one vast set of interests as its shield and by another as its sincere friend and true adviser. Not all he advocated in this Chamber has been enacted into legislation, but whether all his hopes

are ever realized in the future or not, the projects in which he was interested will ever be associated with his name. Death was his first defeat. A nation grieved at his bedside and prayed for his recovery. The tears shed for his loss were genuine and heartfelt.

No man who made so brief a passage across the theater of our national life ever left a stronger impress on his day and age in every walk of life in which he took an interest. It is too soon to determine his rightful place in the valhalla of our national heroes, but it is certain that the impartial biographer will record him a great party leader, a statesman of high rank, a patriot of purest loyalty.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the senior Senator from Ohio.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to

Mr. FORAKER. Mr. President, I move, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the departed, that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 33 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, April 8, 1904, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

APRIL 25, 1904.

The message also transmitted to the Senate the resolutions of the House of Representatives on the life and public services of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

TUESDAY, *February 16, 1904.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven, we come to thee bowed in sorrow and in grief because a great and useful man, a faithful servant of the people, has been taken from us. Yet we come with perfect faith and confidence in thee as a wise, just, and merciful Ruler, who doeth all things for the good of thy children.

Help us, we beseech thee, to learn the lesson thou wouldst teach in the life and death of this man, that we may be faithful to our calling and gain the confidence and esteem of our fellow-men.

Be very near to the bereaved wife, the mourning family, and to those who were near and dear to him by the ties of friendship. Comfort them by the blessed hope of the life to come in Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Parkinson, its reading clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-five Senators, of whom the President pro tempore shall be one, be appointed by the presiding officer to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. HANNA, which shall take place in the Senate Chamber at 12 o'clock m., on Wednesday, February 17th, instant, and that the Senate will attend the same.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect his remains be removed from Washington to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, attended by the committee, who shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect; and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these proceedings to the House of Representatives and invite the House of Representatives to attend the funeral in the Senate Chamber, and to appoint a committee to act with the committee of the Senate.

Resolved, That invitations be extended to the President of the United States and the members of his Cabinet, the Chief Justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the diplomatic corps (through the Secretary of State), the Admiral of the Navy, and the Lieutenant-General of the Army to attend the funeral in the Senate Chamber.

And that in compliance with the foregoing the presiding officer had appointed as said committee Mr. Frye, Mr. Foraker, Mr. Allison, Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Hale, Mr. Platt of Connecticut, Mr. Spooner, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Wetmore, Mr. Hansbrough, Mr. Warren, Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Depew, Mr. Kean, Mr. Scott, Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Alger, Mr. Kittredge, Mr. Gorman, Mr. Cockrell, Mr. Teller, Mr. Bacon, Mr. Martin, Mr. Blackburn, and Mr. McEnery.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourn to-day it adjourn to meet at 11.45 to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourn to-day it adjourn to meet at 11.45 a. m. to-morrow. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

FEBRUARY 16, 1904.

DEATH OF HON. MARCUS A. HANNA

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions, and ask their immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the same.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, a Senator of the United States from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That the House of Representatives accepts the invitation of the Senate to attend the funeral services of the late Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, to be held in the Senate Chamber to-morrow, at 12 o'clock noon, and that the Speaker of the House appoint a committee of thirty Members to act in conjunction with a committee of the Senate to make the necessary arrangements and accompany the remains to the place of burial.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The Speaker announced the following committee: Mr. Grosvenor, Mr. Van Voorhis, Mr. Burton, Mr. Southard, Mr. Dick, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Beidler, Mr. Cassingham, Mr. Hildebrandt, Mr. Kyle, Mr. Nevin, Mr. Snook, Mr. Warnock, Mr. Badger, Mr. Garber, Mr. Goebel, Mr. Jackson, of Ohio, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Longworth, Mr. Weems, Mr. Hemenway, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Lucking, Mr. Wiley, of Alabama, Mr. Dalzell, Mr. Watson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Currier, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Rodenberg, Mr. McCleary, of Minnesota, and Mr. Calderhead.

Accordingly, in compliance with the order previously made, the House (at 12 o'clock and 54 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock and 45 minutes a. m.

WEDNESDAY, *February 17, 1904.*

The House met at 11.45 a. m., and was called to order by the Speaker.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We thank thee, our heavenly Father who art in heaven, for those finer and more delicate qualities of the soul which lift us above the sordid in life in times of calamity or great sorrow and make the whole world akin. Sanctify the solemn services of this day to our good, and help us to remember that we must work while it is yet day, for the night cometh when no man can labor.

Hear us and so watch over us and guide us that our work may be acceptable unto thee, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

OBSEQUIES OF THE LATE SENATOR HANNA

In accordance with the invitation of the Senate and the order adopted by the House on yesterday, the members and officers of the House proceeded in a body to the Senate Chamber to attend the funeral services of the late Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA.

At the conclusion of the services the members returned to the Hall of Representatives.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the deceased Senator, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

APRIL 7, 1904.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect at the conclusion of the exercises the Senate adjourn.

APRIL 15, 1904.

EULOGIES ON THE LATE SENATOR HANNA AND THE LATE HON. W. W. SKILES

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. GROSVENOR. I desire to ask unanimous consent that Sunday, April 24, a session of the House being already ordered, may be set apart for eulogies upon the life and character of the late deceased Senator HANNA and Hon. W. W. Skiles, late a Member of this House. By arrangement with the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Wiley] the exercises incident to that day will not come in conflict with those I have now requested.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? As the Chair understands, the gentleman proposes that the House shall meet at 12 o'clock on Sunday, the 24th.

Mr. GROSVENOR. At 12 o'clock, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, I think the special order is for 2 o'clock.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Yes.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I understand gentlemen have arranged with the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Wiley] so that there will be no conflict.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Yes; I have arranged with the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Wiley]. We have agreed about the matter.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

SUNDAY, *April 24, 1904.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

The following prayer was offered by the Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D.:

Eternal and everliving God, our Heavenly Father, we thank thee for that deep and ever-abiding faith which thou hast implanted in the hearts of men, and which has inspired the true, the noble, the brave of every age with patriotic zeal and fervor, bringing light out of darkness, order out of chaos, liberty out of bondage, and thus contributing here a little, there a little, to the splendid civilization of our age. Especially do we thank thee for that long line of illustrious men who lived and wrought, suffered and died that our Republic, with all its sacred institutions, might live. And to-day we are reminded of that host of statesmen whose names have been connected with the Congress of our nation, where deeds of heroism have been enacted no less onerous than on the field of glory. And, gathered here to-day in memory of those whom their colleagues would immortalize, may the heart guide the tongue that truth may live to inspire those who shall come after them, and God grant that we may live so pure, so true, so noble, that men will rise up and call us blessed, and passing on we may find a glorious reward awaiting us in the realms

of eternal day. And pæans of praise we will ever give to thee, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, I offer for adoption the following resolutions:

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for paying tribute to the memory of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of the exercises of this day shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The question was taken, and the resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Address of Mr. Longworth, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: In the very brief period that I shall occupy I shall attempt to do nothing more than merely to record myself as one of those who have assembled here to-day to pay the last tribute of loving respect to the memory of Senator Marcus A. Hanna. The Senate of the United States has heretofore met for the same purpose, and have paid affectionate tribute to the memory of their late comrade. The legislature of the State of Ohio, which so short a time ago that it seems only yesterday met to pay to him the highest honor that they ever paid any man in the history of the State of Ohio, have within a few days again met to pay to him the last farewell. The country has spoken, and there is but little left to say. But upon this solemn occasion, when we of the House have met to add our voice to the voices of those who have spoken with eulogy of Marcus A. Hanna, I count it as a privilege to be permitted to say one brief word which, although but too inadequate, as I well realize, is none the less sincere and heartfelt.

In all the eulogies that I have read and have heard pronounced—and they have come from the most eminent men of the country—the thing that has most impressed me, what has seemed to me to be the dominant note, has been that of admiration for Senator Hanna not only because he was a

great statesman and a great and dominant figure in American business and in American politics, but an admiration for his qualities as a man; and I know of no one in American history who so preeminently combined in his make-up those qualities which the American people call "manly." His tremendous popularity among the people is all the more remarkable because he was not of a type that usually make the popular idol. He was not a great general, though he served honorably in the Army of his country. He was not a great orator of the kind that sway men's souls and passions, though he was a speaker of great clearness and of immense force. He was not the father of, in the sense of having his name inevitably connected with, any great public policy. It was not because of those qualities which usually appeal to men's hearts that the American people loved him. It was because they saw in him the typification of that simple, honest, energetic American manhood that has made this country the greatest among the nations of the earth.

Since the sad day in which this great man passed away men of all creeds, of all degrees, the high and low, rich and poor, have lifted up their voices in eulogy of Senator HANNA. Great orators have delivered eloquent orations; great writers have contributed literary gems; but to my mind the most eloquent and touching of all was that unspoken eulogy, if one may be permitted to use such an expression, of the people in the city of Cleveland, men and women, who stood for hours in the snow, with the thermometer at the zero point, waiting to get one last look at the features of their well-beloved fellow-citizen; those people who lined the streets and with bared heads and

aching hearts watched the funeral cortege pass on its way to the final resting place; those miners all over the State of Ohio who at the hour of the funeral laid aside their picks and shovels and joined with those far away in a last tribute of farewell to the man who had proved himself their friend.

To myself the death of Senator HANNA came as a personal loss. I believe that the first serious thought that I ever had of entering upon a political career came as a result of a conversation I once had with him in this Capitol, shortly after his election to the Senate, in which he said that he thought it the duty of every young man to whom it was in any way possible to take an interest in the political questions of the day and to ally himself actively with one of the great parties.

Since that time he was always ready with advice and counsel, and his unvarying kindliness to me I shall always remember with gratitude and with pride. It was my good fortune to be especially intimately associated with Senator HANNA during the last campaign in Ohio, when as chairman of the speakers' bureau I had charge of his routine and of the arrangement of his meetings, and I have often thought that his tremendous labors at that time may have contributed to hasten his last illness. With an energy that seemed almost superhuman he insisted in filling not only those appointments which were made for him by the committee, but also in adding more in response to requests that the committee had refused, and he did so, I have always thought, not so much with the desire to gain votes, although he was devoted to his cause and intensely partisan, but

because he wanted to oblige his friends. The name of MARCUS A. HANNA will doubtless go down through history as one of the great men and unquestionably the most forceful individual figure of his day; but his friends will keep his memory green, not only because he was a great leader and a great statesman, but because he was a simple, kindly, big-hearted American gentleman, who always kept his word and never went back on a friend.

Address of Mr. Cassingham, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: My first knowledge of Senator Hanna was secured years ago before he became particularly active or prominent in State politics, his attention at that time being directed almost entirely to the coal and iron business, with which he was identified.

At the time I refer to I merely knew him by sight and as one of the influential business men of the city of Cleveland, Ohio. My impression of him at that time was that he was a man of a stern and distant nature, in whose presence I, at least, would not feel comfortable. I also entertained the opinion at that time that he was possessed of but little sympathy for what is known as the "labor element." These opinions of mine were strengthened by newspaper references to him after his entrance into and prominence in national politics as the manager of Mr. McKinley's political interests.

One day, after my election to Congress, in passing his office with a Democratic Member of this body, my companion suggested that we should go in to see Senator Hanna, to which I objected, being largly influenced in my judgment by the impressions I have just referred to with reference to his stern character. However, we went in and I am glad to say that the kindly manner in which he received us entirely dissipated the erroneous opinions that I had previously formed concerning his character.

After that interview I could readily see why he had become the great political leader that he was. His sturdy steadfastness to friends, his kindly nature, and his recognized ability were the magnetic influences that drew men to him and held them there.

His antagonism to the labor element was frequently commented upon in the section of the country where I reside during the period of his early attention to State politics, but as the sphere of his influence broadened into national politics this belief disappeared, and for some time prior to his death he held a place in the esteem of the laboring class equaled by few, if any, men in public life. On the day of his burial at his home city the evidences of the high esteem and regard in which he was held by all classes, especially by the labor class, were striking features of that sad occasion.

The Democratic party recognized him as an able political antagonist, one who not only enjoyed the confidence of the substantial and corporate interests of the country but also that of the great army of wage-earners.

The bulletins describing his condition during his last illness were watched with interest by persons in all conditions of life without regard to party affiliations, and when the announcement of his death came they all mourned the loss of a distinguished citizen of our common country.

The nation mourns the loss of a foremost citizen and Ohio the death of one of its ablest sons, and I, as an American and an Ohioan, wish to add my voice to the universal expression of regret in the death of MARCUS ALONZO HANNA.

Address of Mr. Goebel, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: We meet to-day to honor, among others, the memory of Marcus A. Hanna, late a citizen of Ohio and Senator of the United States. I knew him for many years, and our relations were always cordial and pleasant and remained so up to the time of his death.

Senator Hanna was a successful business man. He did not, until 1884 and when he came into the field of politics, attract public attention. From that time forward he was in the public eye. Possessed of a keen intellect, exerting a power to make and then to take advantage of political conditions and circumstances as they arose, he soon engrafted his individuality upon his party in Ohio, which made it possible for his appointment by the governor as a Senator of the United States to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Sherman and until the meeting of the legislature. I shall always remember his remarkable contest before that legislature when he sought an election for the full term, and in which he was successful.

Senator Hanna came to the Senate with the prestige of his party and as the personal friend of President McKinley. He rose rapidly in that body and in the confidence and esteem of the nation, possessing a strong body, a mind quick of conception, honest and manly, exercising good business judgment, and bringing them all into play, he soon became a power in that body and a recognized leader

of his party. He was in all respects a safe man, his advice was good, his motives pure, and essentially he became a factor in shaping legislation of great consequence to our nation. His friendship was sincere and lasting. He made enemies, yet in his loyalty to friends he never wavered. He was willing to share all the burdens as well as the joys of friendship. It was justly said of him that could he have had a voice as to the eulogies pronounced upon him he would not countenance false praise nor wish to have ascribed to him virtues he did not possess.

Senator HANNA was but human, so that at times he erred. Then his criticisms of men and measures were rather severe, but he had so many good qualities that so strongly impressed themselves upon you, that one soon lost sight of the other ones. He was not a brilliant man in the full acceptance of that term, yet blended in him were all the elements of an able man, and those elements he exerted for the public good. He was distinctively a man of the people. His death was untimely, for his eye had not been dimmed nor his intellect impaired—cut down while in strength and usefulness.

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players.
> They have their exits and their entrances;
> And one man in his time plays many parts.

Senator HANNA played a leading part in life's drama. He gave full measure to his country, and left behind a character that time in its fleeting race will not soon efface. The world is better because he lived. His party will miss a wise counselor, and the nation mourns his loss.

Address of Mr. Southard, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: Every man, large or small, is in greater or less degree the creature of circumstances, and Senator Marcus A. Hanna was no exception to the rule. He was possessed, however, of those qualities of mind and heart which, under ordinary circumstances, make success certain. He was to a very great degree what is known as a self-made man. He was, in the first place, a successful business man, and accumulated a large fortune even for his day and generation, when fortunes are measured in millions. His fortune was acquired by honest means and methods. He had courage—that which is sometimes called "nerve"—and sound business judgment. All of his accumulations came as the result of legitimate profits from business conducted along legitimate lines. He was in no sense a speculator except as the element of speculation enters into all business enterprises. His strong personality, his courage, and his self-reliance made him a leader in business as he afterwards became a leader in public affairs.

From a very modest beginning as clerk in his father's store, he became the head of large transportation companies and manufacturing and mining concerns.

He enjoyed a high reputation for honesty, integrity, and fair dealing. His word was his bond, and it is said that neither was ever questioned. He was widely known and as

widely respected as a business man long before he became a politician and a statesman. No man, perhaps, ever commanded the confidence of the business men of the country to a greater degree.

I had known of him many years as a business man and as a Republican in politics before I came to know him personally in 1895. He was then deeply interested in the nomination of William McKinley for President. He had assumed the management of his preconvention campaign. Mr. HANNA himself was an ardent protectionist.

It was thought almost universally at that time that protectionism and not free silver would become the dominating or paramount issue. He believed McKinley to be the logical candidate of the party. He believed also in McKinley, and he loved him as a brother. Mr. HANNA was then in the full strength of matured manhood. He had had wide experience in organizing and handling men. He had never held political office, but he was not a novice in political methods. He had always taken more or less interest in public affairs, and twice, at least, had he been elected a delegate to the national convention. For some years he had been rather a prominent figure in the rather factional strife which prevailed in the State at that time.

Here is where my acquaintance with Mr. HANNA commenced. Afterwards, up to the time of his death, I met him frequently and thought I got to know him fairly well. With the commencement of the campaign which resulted in the nomination and election of McKinley as President began what may be termed his public career. It was short, but eventful.

From the very beginning he became prominent, and his prominence increased to the end. Perhaps no one short of McKinley himself exercised a greater influence in public affairs. During the early part of this period he was hated by millions. During the latter part many of those who had hated him had learned to love him, and millions were singing his praises. Few men have been more viciously misrepresented and villainously slandered by those who spoke without knowledge or a desire to obtain it. A man with less strength and fortitude would have sunk beneath the load. He lived to rise triumphant over all, and when he died there was not one whom the nation could not better afford to lose.

In organizing the campaign for the McKinley nomination he displayed the same qualities which had made him successful in business. Energy and method characterized all his work.

The high character of McKinley and the fact that he stood as the embodiment of the protection idea contributed much to his nomination, but the consummate organizing ability of Mr. HANNA made the victory an easy one. After the nomination he became the chairman of the national committee, and it was during this campaign of 1896 that he displayed those masterful abilities which challenged universal attention and fixed his status as the greatest political organizer of his day. I believe the campaign of 1896 the most remarkable in our history. It was from its inception a campaign of education. The issues were clearly defined, and they were real issues. The discussion of them aroused much of class feeling. Mr. HANNA was a wealthy

man. He was known to be a close friend and adviser of the candidate for President. He at once became the target for the grossest abuse and the most vituperative slander.

Among other things, he was characterized as a man of corrupt methods and a cruel, tyrannical oppressor of labor. While nothing was further from the truth, he was in no position to make a personal defense. By the close of the campaign it became as settled conviction in the minds of millions of men and women that these vile statements were true. So persistently were these slanders circulated that in his State they were for a time generally believed by those who did not personally know MARCUS A. HANNA. When McKinley became President it was his desire that Mr. HANNA should be called to the Senate. It is not difficult to see why the President wished to have him there. He had been McKinley's friend and adviser, and no one had had better opportunity to discover his true worth.

He was first appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the selection of Senator Sherman as Secretary of State. Afterwards he was twice chosen to represent his State in the United States Senate, each time under circumstances and conditions differing widely from the other. Preceding each election he had received the indorsement of the State convention of his party. His candidacy was the dominating issue in each campaign, and I think it can be fairly stated that the difference in the results in these two very spirited contests fairly measured his growth and advancement in favor with the people of his State.

The first election was carried by only a few thousand; the one occurring six years later by more than 100,000, an

unprecedented majority in Ohio. Notwithstanding his ante-election indorsement in 1897, it became uncertain that he would be elected Senator. The business men of the State arose in their might and demanded that the expressed will of the party at the polls should be respected. I do not believe that another such meeting was ever held, composed entirely of the people of a single State, as that which assembled in Columbus in January, 1898, to protest against the effort then being made to prevent the selection of Mr. HANNA for Senator. There were at least 10,000 politicians and business men, all representative men from every part of that great Commonwealth.

All this time President McKinley was perhaps the most popular and the man most beloved in his party and Mr. HANNA was his trusted friend. Undeserved abuse, criticism, slander, and libel, persistently indulged in, aided factious opposition in creating this anomalous political condition. If Mr. HANNA was seriously disturbed by these things his friends generally did not know it. I saw him frequently during that intensely bitter struggle which immediately preceded his first election. He was always composed and cheerful, with never an unkind word for those who were opposing him.

In his election to the United States Senate he found increased opportunity to make himself known and understood by the people. He had for a long time been a large employer of labor, and all those who had been associated with him, as employees or otherwise, were his friends. The erroneous impressions as to his character could not last. They had no solid foundation on which to rest. Laboring

men grew to trust him and to believe in him. While he differed as to important matters with many of those known as "labor leaders," they became, as a rule, exceedingly well disposed, because they knew him to be friendly, frank, fair, and courageous.

At the time of his death there was probably no more popular and beloved man in the nation. He was exceptionally loyal to his friends, and they were strongly attached to him. It has been said frequently that he was not an orator. This depends on what we adopt as a definition for oratory. All agree that he was an original thinker and a clear and convincing speaker. Speaking of his career in the Senate, one of its members says: "He took his initiation pitted against eighty-nine old gladiators of debate, and he who is willing to do justice to this man's fame must admit that from his entrance here until his death, on all questions political and commercial, he maintained his place in the very first rank of the strongest debaters in the Senate. No ordinary man could have done that." Another speaks of him as a powerful and convincing speaker. One thing is certain, he became popular as a public speaker, and the people turned out to hear him in large numbers in whatever part of the country he chanced to be.

He obtained his early education in the common schools, but his grasping and retentive mind put him in possession of a store of useful knowledge that enabled him to understand and deal with intricate business or state problems.

He was one of the most considerate and obliging of men; at least, that is the way he impressed his friends. He at once inspired confidence and affectionate regard, and when

he passed away the tears that were shed were the evidence of unfeigned sorrow.

His time in the Senate covered a period of about seven years. He was always helpful in shaping policies and determining legislation. Few men with so short a service can be said to have accomplished so much. It is perhaps too early to assign to Mr. HANNA his proper place among the great men that Ohio has given to the nation, but we can rest assured that history will accord to him high honor and that he will be held in grateful remembrance by a patriotic people.

Address of Mr. Tawney, of Minnesota

Mr. Speaker: When the lives of great men come to a close, it is well that, in accord with historic custom, we pause to honor their memories and think upon the institutions, the movements, of which they were a part. It were an interesting task for some idle hour to imagine what our body politic would be if such men as the late lamented Senator Hanna were endowed with earthly immortality, what changes would result if their influence and power continued to grow forever. Could democratic institutions long continue to flourish if such were the law? An All-Wise Providence has ordered it otherwise. As one after another of the strong towers of the nation's citadel are laid low, we witness a never-ceasing spectacle of change. It is said that if there were no moon to attract the waters, there would be no ebb and flow of the sea; and the stillness which follows the death of a great man resembles nothing so much as the pause of the waves if the moon were swept from the sky.

When we analyze the current of our national affairs and seek the causes which explain it we find somewhere in the shadows of the bordering hills great men who, like the mothers of legend and song, keep watch at the springs of life. They mold the needs of men and supply the foods to satisfy them. They plan and project their plans into the political and industrial life of the nation. They initiate

and control the policies of government. They become bureaus for the wisdom and power of the land, so that other men must work and speak through them. Such a center of influence and power was Senator HANNA. But, sir, Senator HANNA held a position in our national life in many ways unique. He represented as possibly no other man of the present day the close relation between commerce and national politics. If it be true that "commerce follows the flag," there is a sense in which it is also true that "commerce is being."

It sometimes happens that commercial interests are established before political relationship. Commercial relations sometimes make political relations expedient and even necessary. Indeed, sir, I hold it true that commerce follows human taste and need, and the flag, commerce. Where on the face of the earth can human tastes change without affecting the currents of our foreign trade? Where are the needs of men altered by civilization or uncivilizing influences without producing demands which commerce alone can supply? And what nation is there which does not protect its ships and its citizens and seek friendly political relations to increase their wealth and straighten their commercial paths through the seas? Senator HANNA'S life, I repeat, in a peculiar way illustrates this relation.

Called home from college after a single year by the sickness of his father, he devoted himself after his twentieth year to mercantile life. In an incredibly short space of time he became one of the captains of business in and about his home city in the State of Ohio. His growth was phenomenal. He disposed of his grocery trade and invested in coal

and iron. His factories and foundries multiplied; he became a master of the iron trade; he studied coal mines and bought coal lands; he studied the iron trade and bought iron lands and boats to carry the ore. He built the first steel ship on the Great Lakes and became intimately associated as a part owner of those great and productive iron mines of Minnesota at the head of the Great Lakes. Men toiled for him from the Alleghenies to the Rockies.

When the labor unions began to organize he invented the union of coal operators. He became a director of the Globe Ship Manufacturing Company, of Cleveland; president of the Union National Bank, of that city; president of the Cleveland City Railway Company; president of the Chapin Mining Company, on Lake Superior. He interested himself in theaters, and was the proprietor of a successful playhouse; and in all these varied business experiences he did not fail to discover that the policies of the Government, the laws of industry and trade, determined to a very great extent the possibilities of our national commercial growth. Consequently he became interested in the political platforms of parties, in party leaders, in industrial institutions, and in commercial legislation.

Friendship for William McKinley, which began in a lawsuit in which these two men took opposing sides, grew into a warm admiration, and in 1896 he began directing the campaigns which resulted in the nomination, the election, and the reelection of that immortal patriot and statesman to the Presidency of the nation. Senator HANNA, as everyone knows, was chairman of the Republican national committee from 1896 to his death, and was himself elected to

the Senate of the United States from the State of Ohio in 1897, and reelected to that position only a few short weeks prior to his death. He grew in wealth not so much because he prized riches as because he was born with tenacity of purpose and an instinct for mastery. He toiled desperately, but he toiled with his head more than with his hands. Probably there was not another man in America who possessed so accurate a detailed knowledge of the many branches of business life in which he was interested.

The instinct for mastery over the conditions of life was powerful in him, as it is in all strong men. He loved freedom from the limitations that make life meaningless to countless thousands, and sought freedom for himself and his friends alike. It was for mastery and independence that he built ships and operated mines. It was for this, too, that he sought political position and influence. He had discovered that commerce and politics are not distinct and separate, and that to be master in the one sphere a man must enter the other. His interest in tariffs, the uplifting of the merchant marine, the construction of the isthmian canal, his deep concern for the relations between labor and capital, and his loyal and efficient aid to the political interests of his great friend, William McKinley, were part and parcel of his determination to be free. His motives were simple and manly; his methods were the methods of that straightforward business honesty in which, as a youth, he was trained.

I know of no just measure of the ability of men save the degree to which they achieve mastery over the conditions of life. He is strong who makes the forces of the world

pour their treasures into the coffers of the institutions he represents. No breezes blow which do not fill his sails. For him all knowledge, all moral influence, and all wealth exist. If there are obstacles, he overcomes them; if there are battles to be fought, in the end he wins them; if there are friends to be supported and great causes to be sustained, he is sufficient. Judged by this standard, Senator HANNA was one of the greatest men of this great age. No weakness of will, no faltering on the threshold of action, marked his life; no maudlin mind wandering rendered him incapable of prolonged and concentrated mental effort. Wherever he was and whatever his task, he was master of himself and his resources. Who among the many men with whom he was associated was more alert and receptive than he? Who was quicker witted, more fertile in planning, or more prompt in action? Who was truer to his friends and party? Who was more fearful to his enemies?

Senator HANNA'S philosophy of life was simple and practical. He may have lacked many graces of conduct; he may have lacked the tact to accomplish his ends without sharp clash of opposing forces; but when the day of battle came and the fight was on, he was farseeing, courageous, prepared. For Senator HANNA'S life was not an ideal one, but—

> Iron dug from central gloom
> And heated hot with burning fears,
> And dipped in baths of hissing tears,
> And battled with the shock of doom
> To shape and use

Neither the graces of solitude and meditation nor the capacity for intrigue and diplomacy which characterize

more complex matters can explain his power. His creed was simple; his life was filled with usefulness, and no Gibraltar rock ever stood more firmly on its broad base than he.

In politics he was guided by the sublime feeling of his party, and he possessed that essence of all the virtues—sincerity. Methinks I hear that gruff apostle of sincerity, Thomas Carlyle, mutter from his tomb, "I care not what creed a man professes, so he be sincere." The truth is, our departed champion served his friends and his country with every throb of his mighty brain, and this was nowhere so well illustrated as the way he took defeat. He knew when he was whipped. Incapable of shaping his judgment merely to suit the currents of popular opinion, he was, nevertheless, of all men, quick to abandon his own private position and adopt the plans of his party when once they had prevailed. He was, again, the common-sense business man in politics, content to do his best both as counselor and as committeeman for the cause he had espoused.

And where, in the history of America, have two men stood so closely and beautifully together through a period of so many years as MARK HANNA and William McKinley? In the presence of the martyred President, HANNA was always charmed and chastened. That friendship buoyed up his spirit in dark and trying hours. Thinking over their splendid loyalty, we find ourselves suddenly mindful of that other friendship, immortal in Hebrew legend and song—the friendship of Jonathan and David. "Then Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his own soul. * * * Then said Jonathan unto

David, Whatsoever thy soul desireth, I will even do it for thee."

Here, if anywhere in the world, were two souls knit together by a common idea of manly living and the common conviction as to wise and beneficent political policies. More forceful, perhaps, than his more honored friend. HANNA had devoted himself without reserve to the other's political interests, and by a "stoop of the soul, in bending upraises it, too," accomplished his generous task. At the time of that awful calamity which laid the President low upon his bier, HANNA suffered a wound from which he never recovered. It aged him perceptibly; and let us hope that those two modest, daring champions have entered into that perfect friendship of all the good and great.

I can not close my remarks without saying that I profoundly admire HANNA'S simple solution of the labor situation of to-day. He believed in organization on both sides of that question. He was, perhaps, the first great industrial leader to organize, in 1879, a coal operators' union. It was his way of meeting the union of miners; but he believed from the first that such organizations should be undertaken, not in the interest of capital on the one side and in the interest of labor on the other, but on both sides for "the mutual benefit of the employer and the employee."

It is the Golden Rule applied to industrial relations.

In the later years of his life, when approached by the officers of the Civic Federation for aid in settling labor controversies, it was this simple practice and aim which appealed to his judgment and won his support. The people of America all know how valuable were his direct

efforts, guided by this rule, in settling industrial disputes. In the February number of the National Magazine he is reported as saying:

> I am finally convinced that it (the Civic Federation, whose motto is the Golden Rule) is the object to which I desire to consecrate the remaining years of my life. * * * I am sure that the American people will sustain a policy, based upon the highest moral and social impulses, which will eliminate the passionate prejudices that now exist between capital and labor.

I know of but one standard by which to judge the wisdom of any philosophy—"by their fruits ye shall know them;" and in all the literature of social theory I find but one theory of human action which is at once adequate and practical, the theory that conduct should aim at and realize the common good of all concerned. In the greatest of all poems of the nineteenth century and the most philosophical poem of all literature Goethe represents Faust as setting out upon the search for a moment of complete happiness. Mephistopheles agrees to bring him to such a moment. They have formed a contract, signed in blood. If Mephisto succeeds, Faust will surrender his soul as a forfeit. The devil tries him with the love of a woman, then with wealth, then with art and culture, then with power and influence in the state.

From each experience Faust turns away disappointed; but at last, when he has grown old and weary of failure, he becomes absorbed in draining a marsh and turning it into a public park. It is a labor for the good of the public in which he has abandoned forever the hope of satiating his own Titanic passions, and behold! to his

own amazement he is supremely blest, profoundly content. In joy he cries out to the moment when he sees his task complete, "Oh, still delay—thou art so fair." Mephistopheles at once claims the forfeit of Faust's soul, but all in vain. Faust has wrought his own salvation in an humble effort to uplift the world.

Let us believe that in this simple faith lies the solution of all our problems. Let us hope that with education and social progress a glad day may dawn when all men may live by this creed. We find, sir, in the life of the late Senator HANNA an example of the wisdom of that ancient Nazarene who said: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." We are glad that we knew MARCUS A. HANNA, and we are thankful for the memory in whose ample courts the dead become our sceptered sovereigns, whose spirits rule us from their tombs.

Address of Mr. Beidler, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: It is probable that my acquaintance with the late Senator Hanna, commencing as it did over thirty years ago, was a longer acquaintance than that enjoyed by any other Member of the House. And living in the same district with him, and being engaged in the same business avocation as he, we were frequently thrown together in business matters long before he gave any great attention to politics. In January, 1885, over nineteen years ago, he submitted to me a proposition to enter into business relations with him, which, however, was never consummated. In July of 1900, after the national convention held in Philadelphia, and after I had received the nomination for Congress, I called on him at his office, and he gave me the warmest and most cordial welcome, saying that he would assist me in every way in his power, which he did, and upon my election he assisted me in all matters pertaining to the district which I have the honor to represent. My recollections of Senator Hanna are of the most kindly character.

I will leave it for others, whose eloquence better fits them to do so, to speak of Senator Hanna's achievements in business and public life. I shall pay my humble tribute to him as a man of many sterling qualities of heart and brain, for he was a man of heart as well as of brain. The same qualities that contributed to his success in business life made him a strong and commanding figure in national public life. To those who had known him only since his

memorable part in the nomination and election of the late and lamented President McKinley, Mr. HANNA'S rise seemed almost meteoric. But his was not a comet-like flight upward. From early manhood he was an active political worker. He did not spring from business life into successful political life with one bound. He started at the bottom of the ladder, working in the wards and precincts of Cleveland as the ward and precinct workers work to-day. It was there that he learned the rudiments of politics, and there that he learned the lessons which contributed so largely to his success in the great arena of national politics. He learned to know and to understand men.

Senator HANNA was a fighter. His business as well as his public life was one long fight. He was a man who preferred defeat after fighting to victory gained by the tricks and wiles of demagoguery. His political life was largely a repetition of his business life. His methods of reaching results were the same. He made enemies right and left, but while these enemies hated him, they also feared him, and at the same time admired him. They admired in him the very qualities that made them his enemies, and when he was called to the life beyond there was not one who did not grieve deeply and sincerely. Senator HANNA made enemies because he was a strong man; and when a man, especially in public life, is strong he arouses strong enmities. A man can afford to have enemies if they admire him. The same qualities that made enemies for Senator HANNA likewise made him friends. No man had more loyal friends.

Senator HANNA was conservative. He believed in tread-

ing the paths that were tried and safe. His warning to the people of this country to "stand pat" was not a warning to stand still. His now famous "stand pat" meant that the people should continue to enforce those policies that have brought peace and prosperity to the land and happiness to the people. In his public and in his business career he never stooped to the tricks of the demagogue. Demagoggnery he fought as he would have fought a pestilence. In seeking public favor he never pandered to public prejudice and passion, but fought to overcome that prejudice.

Senator HANNA was a leader, and that statement needs no corroborative testimony from me. He was a leader because he had strength of purpose and strength of character and because he had the implicit confidence, not only of those who were his friends, but of those who were opposed to him.

As I have said, Senator HANNA was a man of heart as well as of brain. His heart was big and it was tender. Strong himself, he sympathized with the weak. No friend of Senator HANNA ever had a better and truer friend than Senator HANNA. He would fight for his friend's honor as quickly, and perhaps more quickly, than for his own honor. He sympathized with and extended a helping hand to those who were in distress or suffering.

Senator HANNA has gone, but his influence will remain and continue to grow with us. As a man he has left an impress for good upon all with whom he came in contact. As a public citizen he has left an impress for good upon the entire country. The world is better because he lived in it, and more can not be said of any man.

Address of Mr. Brick, of Indiana

Mr. Speaker: Marcus A. Hanna is dead. Another great man in the zenith of his fame and power of good has reached his journey's end.

Again in the marvel of life we are standing rapt and helpless in the presence of the profoundest mystery of human destiny—death—the precipice that marks the deepest, darkest tragedy, the end of each and all.

Our friend has gone, and on its ragged edge we stand in listening love, waiting for the sound of a voice that comes back only in the trouble of the waves that break upon the fretful shore.

But to me the greatest mystery is life.

The flower unfolds in bursting bud and falling leaf.

It lingers for a while in sweet perfume, to fade away and then to bloom again.

What shall we do? What words can we say?

There is the sunshine and beauty, a glad song in the sky, the bee's quiet hum of rich content in a wealth of sweetness, and then the cruel thorn, many struggles, the torn flesh, and a tear.

There comes a far cry, a tree falls in the forest dim and dusk, the flower is crushed, and over the débris the world moves on.

But the fragrance of the flower that has been will forever hang round the hearts that will be.

The grave is the mother of universal pain and every human sorrow, but in its mysterious depths it also cradles the birth of every high resolve and the love of bird, and beast, and man.

Again the mystery—in the alchemy of life the rainbow of infinite love is only seen through the moisture of a tear.

How unutterably barren and cheerless would this world be without its monumental grave, without the huge and thoughtful silence of all its mighty dead.

The stringless lyre, the voiceless songs immortal, they fill the halls of memory with their harmonies, wondrous sweet and kind, that tell of all that is and of all that man would like to be. They tell us of all the noble doings, the joys and sorrows, the ecstacies and grief, the agonizing frailty, and the victories of all the good and great since time began.

They sound the sublimest symphony that was ever touched and played upon the harp of a thousand strings in the love of hearth and home and wife and child and friend.

And we are born again to nobler things in the longings of a softened heart.

Yes; it is too true. MARK HANNA has left us, after having enriched the world with an honest, faithful, sincere life, to return no more.

He needs no words for fame, no apologies for rest.

He grandly fought and serenely died in the full fruition of his highest powers and noblest thought, in the splendid harvest time of the nation's greatness.

He lived to see the end of all he had worked for and dreamed of.

He lived long enough to watch the shadows fall at noon

by the bedside of his dearest friend, the nation's martyred hero, the kindest, gentlest, tenderest memory of the world, the idol of his manly heart, and the type and flower of an American Christian gentleman.

With him he had lived to see the culmination of all their hopes, financial stability, exalted citizenship, American victory, expanded glory, and commercial supremacy.

McKinley's gentle spirit took its flight, his troubles ended then, and in the dusk of twilight MARK HANNA wandered on a while, with a great burden pressing down his heart, till at last he, too, fell asleep.

And now his labor's o'er.

They have joined each other, through the darkness and in the dawn, beyond the mystery of life and death.

And we are left to pay a tribute to ourselves in the laurel wreath we place upon their tomb.

Death is always sad, and in its pathos comes the thought—after all his struggles and his triumphs, his kind acts, illustrious deeds, the things done and the things he would have liked to do—why could not he have remained with us yet a little longer, in the deserved praise and friendly admiration of the many millions of his fellow-men who loved him living, and who love him now, with head bowed down in speechless grief for their good friend gone.

Honesty, sincerity, and manly courage are the pillars of the State.

No true work was ever wasted, and since the world began no true life has ever failed.

It is an endless thread running through all eternity.

The spirits of men never die; they live forever, and walk abroad forever among the children of men.

If you fail, you wrong everybody.

If you fill your niche and fill it well, you are a hero.

And in the precursored fulfillment of life's problems there are no degrees of heroism.

In the immortality of human achievement there is no death for an honest faithful life.

There never was a grave dug to smother in its bosom the sunbeam of a heart throb.

There never will be a night black enough to enshroud the luster of a star-led thought.

Every brave and loyal act presses Time so close it dulls his busy scythe.

And MARK HANNA filled his niche complete.

He was a loved and loving man, sympathetic, upright, and absolutely honest.

In the precious thoughts, the noble images, and the spotless character left behind, he has given to the world the richest, rarest legacy of any man's work and worth.

He was faithful to every trust of life—true to himself and friend. And above all that he has done which may live after him, he possessed the one great elemental virtue that makes men eternal.

He was part of the universe, brother of the air, the sea, the soil, and every man, however humble, was his brother.

His brain was warmed by the rich red blood from the heart.

And he had a heart to feel and know that all flesh and

blood are human; that each poor, struggling soul has the same hopes, the same joys and sorrows, and that their hearts yearn for friendship and bleed at scorn and contumely the same as his—a heart that beat in sympathy with every human being that toils with arm or brain.

Through all his days it was oak and "stainless to the core."

Through all his days and nights it throbbed for the poor and weak.

And on this blessed day we consecrate to him, all over the broad land, in a million lowly homes, MARK HANNA'S name is spoken soft and low by men and women who work for bread—he was their friend.

Mr. Speaker, after all is said and done, in the far-off mystical future, that will be his chiefest glory.

Some day the subtle influence of his name will be a potent spell to bring together in terms of understanding and bonds of peace the lives of men who will work for each other in wedded harmony.

He was a man of splendid courage.

Honesty and sincerity refused to bend the suppliant knee in deceiving utterance, and that bred conflict.

Bitter conflict born of passion and prejudice, as old as the great round world, the heritage of every great man.

Some men are tall enough to cast a lengthening shadow far beyond the horizon of their little day.

Great enough to be maligned and misunderstood in their generation.

Brave and strong enough to become the target for the envenomed shafts of envy, malice, and human littleness.

Virtuous and broad enough to inflame the jealous heart of all the meanly wise and feebly good with impotent slander.

But the grave ends all.

The rust of steel mingling with pathetic dust to nourish the vines and flowers that kindly cluster around the tomb of a worthy man.

No man must be measured by an act or a year.

He should be measured by his whole life, by the tendency not of a day, but of all.

Struggle as we may to peer into the future we are but finite.

As to the ultimate judgment of greatness in any man, time and events are the final arbiters.

All we can do now—all that we care to do now in our affection is to cover his resting place with the flowers of our continuing friendship, to pay to his greatness, as we know it, the tribute of an appreciation that lives beyond the grave.

He was a great leader, a man of superb executive ability.

But I shall always remember him best for the splendid qualities of his heart.

Honesty, sincerity, and friendship filled the life of all who knew him with sunshine.

He was successful in everything he undertook, but money could not spoil him, nor fame and power pervert him.

He believed, through very instinct, that a kind act was brighter than gold, more enduring than the stars.

He believed that in the cross and crown of life and death we are nearer to God as we draw closer to man.

That there is no pearl ever born in the deep sea's deepest mystery, no sun-defying crest that ever hung on beauty's brow, no star that light's the wanderer's path of doubt and fear, no word of praise, no sparkling gem of jeweled joy, that could ever vie with the light of a friendly eye, with the luster of the moistening drop that lingers down a manly face for another's sorrow.

Fame may die in a day, but the heart it will live on forever.

He was a kindly, loving, generous, manly man, true to life, true down to the very gates of night. My friend Harry S. Chester, of Indiana, has beautifully written a little poem that tells in simple pathos of the parting of two great men—of a parting in the purple twilight on the ever-widening shore, where the stream of HANNA'S life was emptying in the sunset sea.

A FEW WORDS FROM THE HEART

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: You touched a tender spot, old man, when you called personally to inquire after me this a. m. I may be worse before I can be better, but all the same such "drops" of kindness are good for a fellow.

Sincerely, yours, M. A. HANNA.

DEAR SENATOR: Indeed it is your letter from your sick bed which is touching—not my visit. May you very soon be with us again, old fellow, as strong in body and as vigorous in your leadership and your friendship as ever.

Faithfully, yours, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

You touched a tender spot, old man, you touched a tender spot;
These little drops of kindness help a fellow out a lot
God bless the sweet expression, for it came from out the heart,
With all the deep affection that a friendship can impart.

God bless you, dear old fellow, for you struck a tender chord,
As true in wealth of beauty as our human hearts afford.
May you be with us years to come is all I wish for you,
My dear old fellow, from a friend, most faithfully and true.

How grand if all the world were blest with such a human strain,
How many hearts o'erburdened now would have surcease from pain;
"Old fellow" and "old man," ah, these expressions from the soul,
Would drive out bitterness and hate and put love forever in control.

The world, our country, is greater and grander in his life, and we his friends are braver, better, truer, kindlier men in his death.

Address of Mr. Lovering, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: No man goes out of the world alone. A thousand souls take flight at once, yet is each transfigured in his own sphere, and we stand transfixed, some gazing up whence he is gone, some looking only at the place made vacant. Every great man who dies makes death easier for those who follow.

Seneca said: "He is a great man who is willing to die when life is pleasant to him."

> How long shall a man live 'tis not for him to know'
> How well shall a man live is all his own to show.

The greatest solace in the loss of our friends is that we have had them. And sweet memory forbids that we should bury our friendships alive in the graves of our friends.

All that was mortal of Mark Hanna has been borne away out of sight, but the immortal lingers and abides in our hearts. His sphere was not limited by State or nation; it embraced all mankind. We had not to wait for death to sanctify. Long before it came he had made his record. Men had come to know his worth, and the fitting words of eulogy that have since been spoken but voiced the thoughts that were already in our minds.

Those who knew him best saw in him a big-hearted man with red blood, whose every impulse was genuine, whose every thought was clean, whose every act was

generous, and whose public life was a model of American patriotism.

Though coming late into the political world, he brought a large business experience and a ripe judgment to his new field of labors. Untrammeled by hackneyed conventionalities, he cut loose from old political methods and hewed out a new path to victory. He sought his ends by directness and not by subterfuge. He was accomplished in the arts of persuasion and won votes through conviction.

> Was he your friend? Then well you knew
> His friendship was unfeignedly true;
> And no reservation mocked the relation.

It may not be said that he was faultless, but it can be said that he was never false. He may have erred, but all the world loves and forgives the man whose great human sympathies at times o'ertop and sway his judgment.

And now we say that he is dead. What do we mean? Only that he has taken the one short step from earth to heaven. One short step from life to life eternal. One short step from the mortal to the immortal. The one short step that sooner or later must be taken by one and all.

Address of Mr. Smith, of Illinois

Mr. Speaker: Life comes to us without our asking, and that peaceful sleep which, with all the wisdom of the ages, we have not yet been able to fully solve or look upon without some lingering dread or heart quiverings, and which, for want of a better or more expressive term, we call "death," will come to all, whether we crave its coming or try to ward it off.

To all intelligent existence it seems there is some life work, great or small, for each to perform. Prominence is achieved by many in various walks of life. Some grow great in war, others in statesmanship, others in diplomacy, others in ecclesiastical fields, others in science and the arts, others in the business world, and still others in what is sometimes termed the "humbler walks of life;" but in all and through all there seems to be an eternal fitness of things, and we can not avoid, try it though we may, the feeling and conviction that all our life work, energies, and efforts are in some manner unknown to us; in some mysterious way, at least, influenced if not marked out for all.

During my terms of service in Congress our flag has on various occasions floated at half-mast over the Capitol building. During this time twenty Senators, one Vice-President, and eighty Members of the lower House have answered the last roll call, fallen at their post of duty while

serving their country and constituencies in their respective capacities. Some of them thus falling asleep with their official robes about them had achieved such prominence as to have become world known; others had acquired national reputations, and still others are remembered for their hard work and splendid results in a more humble and limited sphere; but all have received the encomiums of their people and words of commendation and praise from their colleagues in the halls of Congress. Each one has filled with credit the little space allotted him, and their memories are cherished by an appreciative people and the friends they knew in life.

On the 14th day of September, 1901, our flag fell to half-mast by reason of the death of President McKinley, taken from us by the hand of an assassin, we know not why, at what appeared to be the noontide of his usefulness. He left us mourned by the nations of earth and loved by the people of our whole country; but his works live after him, and his memory will be cherished in the hearts of his countrymen for all time. McKinley lived through periods of history making, and his name is written, in words which can never be effaced, on the brightest pages of the history of those times. When his body was being carried to and tenderly placed in its windowless apartment at Canton, Ohio, business throughout the entire country ceased and silence reigned. No grander evidence of the feelings of the great heart of this nation has ever before been exhibited. He left an example of honor, integrity, unswerving devotion to duty, and an exalted patriotism worthy of the commendation and emulation of all. Throughout the future history of this

country the memory of William McKinley will live—live in the hearts of our people, unbesmirched and unsullied, and his acts, works, and efforts will stand as beacon lights to which others may look with profit in the days to come.

February 15, 1904, our flag again floated at half-mast as the whispered words were passed from lip to lip that "Senator MARCUS A. HANNA is dead." Self-made, as we call it, Senator HANNA'S life was a busy one. Born in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, September 24, 1837, he forged his way by honest effort and hard work to business prominence in a busy world. He attained wealth by honest effort, business intelligence, and level-headed sagacity. He accomplished this not by pulling others down, but by applying business principles and availing himself of the opportunities which his country afforded. What Senator HANNA did in a business way others with the same energy and perseverance may accomplish in this grand Commonwealth of ours. By his indomitable energy and untiring efforts he builded a business monument in life around which his thousands of employees have cast their garlands of approbation, and over the cold sods which cover his remains to-day they are dropping their tears of sympathy and expressing their regrets that one of their warmest friends has passed away.

While always active in politics in a limited sense, yet not until 1896 did he take such part in political affairs as to make him a national character and a prominent figure in political life; but from the time of his selection as chairman of the Republican national committee Senator HANNA'S name was known throughout the world. A Republican

from principle, he stood unhesitatingly, unswervingly, and uncompromisingly for the success of the policies of his party, believing fully, as no one now questions he did, that the success of these policies were better calculated to advance, build up, foster, and improve the conditions of our people and country than were the policies advocated by any other party seeking success at the hands of the voters. He devoted his time and great abilities to the advancement of those principles and achieving success for the policies which with all his heart and force he advocated. Our country to-day has a brilliant record of the success achieved under his guidance and masterful management.

Many may envy his accomplishments, but does anyone now doubt the sincere and earnest belief he entertained in the benefits which would accrue from the success of the principles he advocated? The American people are noted for doing justice to ability, intelligence, and principle, even though the meed of praise may for a time be deferred, and to-day Senator HANNA'S memory receives the reward of praise which his life work deserves.

I often feel that 'twould be better far to cheer by words of praise and encourage by acts of commendation the efforts, work, and accomplishments of friends while yet they tread the paths of life, struggling and laboring in the interest of all, than wait till after their life work is completed and then scatter flowers o'er their windowless tombs and laud their virtues, their abilities, their labors, and their patriotism, when their ears are closed to all the sounds of encomiums and praises which then, and so often only then, are expressed.

No one is perfect; all have their faults, their failings, their shortcomings. We do not expect perfection here, and since this is the universal law the mantle of charity should be borne by every individual, ready at all times to be thrown about the shoulders of anyone when criticism or calumny is directed against him before he exercises the right to seriously criticise or impugn the motives of his friend. Before criticising, would it not be more generous and eminently more charitable to hesitate and say, "I may be mistaken; he may be right; before passing judgment I will investigate?" And after this is done we all can say, "'Twas better far to take this course than wait till after death to determine, and then strew flowers of eloquence over the cold and cheerless apartment to which we have consigned the body of our friend."

As wanderers in a world which, in the light of developing science and discoveries, is as yet but little known, something continuously whispers to our inner selves that "'Tis not the whole of life to live, nor all of death to die." Into each life, whether among the civilized or uncivilized, there comes a feeling, bidden or unbidden, some longing for a future, some kind of a conscious existence after the walls of earth's charnel house are broken down. Shall we say that this is but a dream? If but a dream, why should our intelligence be always haunted with it? I prefer to believe that instead of dreams such feelings are realities, inspired by that part of our being which to mortal ken is yet unknown.

The mystery of life has never yet been fully solved; perhaps 'tis better thus. A veil is hanging 'twixt this and

that we know not of, through which we can not look and feast our eyes on visions beyond, but glintings reach us at every turn in life and lead us on in thought, with hope which lingeringly looks and longingly waits for some bright rays, until we feel that at some time, somewhere, and in some sphere, which as yet we can not explore, we'll meet again the wanderers who have glided from us here. May we not still fondly hope that as earth's beautiful visions fade and what we now call death has kissed our eyelids down, we are then but entering a brighter sphere and higher existence than this, where we are now enveloped by shadows and all our paths are sprinkled with our tears?

From earth's life Senator HANNA has disappeared. His sphere in life was well filled; his duties well, faithfully, honestly, and honorably performed. The world is better for his having lived in it. He worked for the betterment and upbuilding of mankind, and, as he said, was ready to devote the remainder of his life to the working out of the great questions of labor and capital, which will still be vexing subjects for years to come; but it was not given him to continue and complete this work. He outlived the slurs and vituperations which in the earlier part of his active political career had been hurled at and heaped upon him, and to-day partisan politics are hushed as with bowed heads, intelligent men, members of one of the greatest legislative bodies of any government on earth, bound together with the warmest feelings of friendship, inspired by love of patriotism, always ready and willing to recognize real merit wherever found, and ever commending noble aspirations, join hand and heart in offering their tribute of

respect to his memory and commending his earnest, unselfish, and patriotic life work to those who come after him.

Peace to his ashes! Honor to his integrity, his ability, his sterling manhood! He left us mourned by an appreciative people. May we all profit by his example.

While to Senator HANNA we to-day utter our faltering good-by, yet when the sunburst of eternity dawns upon us, we hope, we expect, and we believe that somewhere, at some time, and in some higher sphere we'll meet again.

Address of Mr. Kyle, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: There is, it is said, "a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune." Many of us are painfully reminded that with the tide the opportunity passes away like ships that pass in the night, unseen, unheard, never to return again. Mr. Hanna, while a young man, active, energetic, observant, and watchful, saw his opportunity, recognized it, seized it, used it, and with it rode the tide at its flood from humble surroundings to the exalted place that he held in the hearts of the whole American people; and while on the highest wave of his popularity, the waters receded from under him and he was buried from our sight forever. Over his faults all are content to spread the mantle of charity, but his good deeds are the heritage of the whole people, share and share alike.

I did not know him intimately, but well. I first knew him personally in 1896 at the St. Louis convention, and met him often, always, however, in matters of politics, from that time on. I took part, in a humble way, in his memorable campaign for the United States Senate, when the will of the people was triumphant after a most prolonged and exciting effort. His rise in politics and his preeminent position in the affairs between capital and labor was from that time uninterrupted.

His last campaign was not only brilliant, but the most marked personal and political vindication of a man in

American politics. His majority, as shown by election of the members of the general assembly, exceeded by many thousands the majority over the Democratic candidate for governor, being almost unanimous. His friends were fearful of his exertions, lest he might not be able to bear up under the strain; but the same energy that had marked his whole career was called into exercise, but the effort was too much. His work was done. The end had come; and may his good deeds ever live as an inspiration to America's youth and the possibilities to be obtained under our great free institutions.

Address of Mr. Morgan, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: To the tributes which are paid to the memory of one of the most distinguished of American citizens permit me to add a word expressive of my admiration for his character and my deep respect for him as a man. It is not my purpose to review his life. That has already been accurately and eloquently done by those who knew him intimately and well. "Paint me as I am," said Oliver Cromwell while sitting to young Lely. "If you leave out the scars and wrinkles I will not pay you a shilling." Could Mr. Hanna now speak to us he would indorse that request. Many lessons of wisdom may be learned from his successful and useful life. It was a remarkable life, a marvelous career that the ceremonies of this day commemorate.

Great intellectual power, a lofty aim and purpose, a rich nature, an enlightened conscience, perfect integrity, and a kind and tender heart won for Mr. Hanna, in a marked degree, the respect, confidence, good will, and admiration of the American people. His life and character are a striking illustration of the spirit, the tendencies, and the possibilities of free institutions. He was a great and good man, and his goodness was the crown of his greatness. He was great in intellect. A clear, discriminating, logical, and consecutive thinker, he grappled successfully with every political, social, and economic problem that claimed his attention. He was

accustomed to collect and hurl his whole mental force against the citadels of truth, and carry them, as it were, by storm.

With the capacity to master every situation completely, he had, in a rare degree, the ability to make his views convincingly clear to others. He was gifted with remarkable intellectual powers. He was great in word. He appealed to the intelligence, the judgment, the reason, and the conscience of his hearers, and his wise utterances always rose above prejudice, above passion, above personal considerations, to the sublime heights of philosophy whose logic is invincible. Perhaps he was not an orator in the ordinary sense of the term. He never seemed to aim at rhetorical effect. Sincerity and earnestness characterized his words, and his delivery was at times impassioned and always clear, logical, and effective. He was the impersonation of tremendous will power. Sustained by an indomitable will, patiently, persistently, and perseveringly in the face of disappointment and failure, he bore his way through great difficulties and accomplished great results.

In times of uncertainty and doubt men were prone to gather around his strong will and draw inspiration and confidence from its unflinching self-reliance. Words coming up out of the heart and sent forth with a commanding purpose never failed to make a deep impression. With an unfaltering purpose he applied himself to every task, and only death itself could subdue his overmastering will. He was great in what may be termed "representative capacity." He became one of the exponents of the hopes, aspirations, and triumphant sentiments of the American

people. It is a well-recognized truth that he who leads must follow. Mr. HANNA identified himself with certain ideas and convictions that were dominant in the minds of the people, and to them gave his life, his strength, his all.

He was also great in character. In every relation of life he exhibited the traits of honesty, inflexible integrity, and a sacred regard for the rights of others. He was true to himself, true to his friends, true to country, and true to Christian civilization. His convictions were of the conscience enlightened by the judgment and reason, and were never surrendered for the sake of expediency. He was a conspicuous example of that type of our great men who have been distinguished for the persistency with which they have adhered to their convictions of justice, honor, and right. The grandest treasures of a republic are its manly men, and in the death of Mr. HANNA the country has suffered an irreparable loss.

> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Naturalists tell us that birds of paradise fly swiftest against the wind and gather strength from the opposing gale. When Mr. HANNA entered public life no man was more misunderstood, more underestimated, and more misrepresented, but the storm of abuse and vituperation only served to stimulate the growth and development of his intellectual and moral qualities. While his public career was comparatively brief, the power of originality and constructive statesmanship, a progressive spirit, candor, and sincerity, tireless energy, a dauntless will, and noble deeds

for country and humanity, gave him a place among the foremost citizens of the Republic. Because of what he was, because of what he represented, and because of what he did, the memory of this clean-handed, clear-minded, strong-hearted man will be forever enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen.

His mortal remains rest in the bosom of the State he served so faithfully and loved so well, but his thoughts, words, and deeds, spirit and example will be reproduced in other sympathetic souls, let us hope, until the stars shall cease to twinkle and steal away into eternal darkness and the earth itself and man shall be no more. Mr. HANNA is not dead. Such men never die. He stepped into the skies at the close of a life crowned with honor and usefulness.

> To live with fame
> The gods allow to many, but to die
> With equal luster is a blessing Heaven
> Selects from all her choicest boons of Fate,
> And with a sparing hand on few bestows.

Address of Mr. Hildebrant, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker:

As in many groups they were busied in diverse occupations, some in games and others in work, the Master opened the door and with a smile beckoned to the leader of the busiest group, who, laying down his tools, went within and the door shut behind him. His comrades waited for him, and, finding that he came not, realized that that was death.

It is said that centuries ago a pagan philosopher used this illustration of what we call death, and—

We have seen it occur in our midst that the Master came into the busiest group and beckoned the master of the group into the open door. He followed and the door shut. "God's finger touched him, and he slept."

The life of Marcus Alonzo Hanna was a busy life. It teemed with happenings, both small and great. It was not, however, a career fashioned and formed by the "changes and chances of this mortal life," but it was a career that from beginning to end shaped and directed not only the affairs of men, but itself as well; that met and overcame obstacles; that bravely encountered and mastered problems; that mapped out its own course, and largely influenced the course of others. Every minute of his life was occupied with thoughts and actions which had for their purpose the betterment of the condition of his fellowmen and of his country, and his own success was incidental to his unselfish efforts in behalf of others. He was a leader of men, and he came into this leadership solely by virtue of his demonstrated ability to lead.

He became a great man. It has been said that "some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have

greatness thrust upon them." That the greatness of Senator HANNA was achieved there is no room for doubt. It was recognized, I believe, by even those who were wont to villify and caricature him, that he carved out his own career. He died in the midst of his labors, and still his work may be said to have been finished, for so thorough were his methods and so prompt his actions that he left little undone.

To my mind MARCUS A. HANNA was the ideal American citizen. It was through a sense of duty that he entered actively into the political field. He might have ended his life's labors in the seclusion and peace of his home as a retired business man and have held aloof from politics as from something contaminating, as, alas, do many of our successful business men, but he felt his place to be in the din and noise of life's battle, where he could use his great abilities in the right settlement of political questions, as he had used them in the business and social and ethical fields of his endeavors. His rise in the political arena was substantial, though rapid, for it was the result of the application of the methods that brought him his other successes, methods that win success everywhere and under all conditions—straightforwardness, honesty, frankness, truth, and sincerity.

These virtues were the warp and woof of MARK HANNA'S character, and linked as they were to an indomitable will and a high purpose, they made for the best that human nature can accomplish.

Senator HANNA had no specialty. He did all things well. And it was the aggregate of his achievements that made him great, rather than any one thing he did. He

did things simply and without ostentation. He exercised his abilities quietly and unassumingly, yet he left the impress of his strong personality upon every thing or subject with which he came in contact.

He had a bright, genial, sunny disposition, which completely hid whatever disappointments came into his life. His friends loved him and his enemies had learned to respect him. He in turn loved his friends and despised not his enemies. This mutual love was not platonic or feigned, nor was it sycophancy on the one side for favors granted or expected or, on the other side, a false profession of friendship, but it was real and true affection, as was evidenced by the sincere grief of Senator HANNA'S hosts of friends when his earthly life ended. The entire country, not much less than the State of Ohio, mourns his taking away, and our feelings are akin to those we experienced when our loved McKinley was so ruthlessly snatched from us.

But, Mr. Speaker, it can not be that the busy and fruitful life of MARCUS A. HANNA is as a story that is told. I believe that, although his earthly activities have ceased, he will live on in the minds and hearts of men until the end of time as an exemplar of civic and political virtue and of personal rectitude of character; and I think that more than to any others should he be to the young men of America an example of right living, as a business man and as a politician, as a statesman and as a friend, as a husband and as a father, for—

> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Address of Mr. Gibson, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker: In the Theta Delta Chi fraternity, to which I belong, when we assemble to bury a brother each one of us deposits a flower upon his grave; and so here to-day where we have assembled to complete the funeral ceremonies in honor of a man who in a larger sense was our brother, I come to put a flower of affection in that bouquet of love and respect we this day, in the name of the American people, deposit in the most sacred archives of this Capitol as a token of devotion to the memory of Marcus Alonzo Hanna.

I do not speak of Senator Hanna as an intimate personal friend. My relations to him were mainly political. Owing to some mutual misunderstandings, our first acquaintance was hostile, but as soon as he understood the facts about which we differed he not only accorded to me all that I had contended for, but conceded more than I had the right to expect, and became my friend, and continued my friend down to his death.

Senator Hanna's magnanimity

Such was the magnanimity he displayed toward me that I at once felt that he was a truly great man and a truly good man, for he had almost unlimited power in the matters about which we differed, and a small-minded man or a bad-hearted man would have used his power to have

crushed me, whereas Senator HANNA not only righted the wrong he had done me, but gave me more than I contended for. The result was I soon learned to respect and honor him, and my regard grew as my knowledge of him increased, until at the time of his death I had a respect and reverence for him greater than for any living man.

When my troubles with Senator HANNA over some appointments in my district began I carried my case to President McKinley. The President, after hearing me, said: "I am satisfied. You go to Senator HANNA and tell him what you have told me, and he will do you right. You can trust him; he is a just man." I protested that Senator HANNA had been saturated with misinformation and was much prejudiced against me. The President replied: "I know him better than you do. He will do you justice." So I went again to Senator HANNA and found him the just man President McKinley had represented him.

I mention these personal matters to illustrate the character of Senator HANNA. I am satisfied that the great power he wielded during the opening of McKinley's first Administration did not inflame his heart with pride or develop the slightest traits of tyranny.

> Oh, it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant.

I wondered at first why Senator HANNA had been so magnanimous. I confess I had not been accustomed to the chivalric magnanimity he accorded me. In my political warfare hitherto the only alternative was to cut down my adversary or be cut down by him in a conflict that knew neither truce nor surrender, and when Senator HANNA

conceded to me what I was claiming, when I was absolutely in his power, I could hardly realize the fact.

But as time rolled on, and I learned more of him from many sources, I realized that my contention had been with a great and good man, who scorned to belittle himself by taking advantage of his power, but rather took pleasure in righting the wrong he had done.

Great, therefore, was the personal blow I felt when the news came that Senator HANNA was dead, and the blow I felt tens of thousands of others felt, and a pall of gloom overspread the whole land. One of the great lights in our country's firmament had ceased to shine, and in sorrow we all realized that the eclipse was forever, except in so far as its light was reflected on the pages of our country's history and in the hearts of his fellow-citizens and in the admiration of all mankind.

THE FRIENDSHIP OF M'KINLEY FOR HANNA

President McKinley and Senator HANNA were so closely allied that, knowing McKinley's affection for HANNA and his supreme confidence in his judgment and goodness, and knowing, too, HANNA's affection for his great chief, and his absolute loyalty, when McKinley was so suddenly and so tragically cut off in the very noonday of his greatness and glory, it seemed to me that his personal mantle had fallen on the Titanic shoulders of Senator HANNA, and so my regard and reverence for him, already great, was much increased.

I easily recall that pathetic moment when, stretched on the painful bed of death at Buffalo, the dying McKinley, unable to see who was present in the room, called out, "Is

MARK here?" and how, when Senator HANNA spoke to him and laid his hand upon his head, the President seemed to feel relieved, and a smile of complacent satisfaction lit up his face and illumined the room.

And, as after Mr. McKinley's death the nation loved and honored him the more, so also the nation began to honor and love HANNA more. The sanctity that enveloped McKinley in the public estimation, transfiguring him into a saintly hero after his martyrdom, shed its holiness and its glory upon McKinley's greatest friend and closest political brother, until HANNA himself became the living representative and successor of the dead McKinley and the perpetuator of his dynasty.

And when he died it seemed not only that the great Ohio Senator had forever departed from our midst, but that the lingering spirit of McKinley had departed with him, and that a great era in our country's history, an era crowded with many and mighty events, changing our history and the history and map of the world, an era more brilliant, more glorious, more magnificent, and more fruitful of mighty and beneficent consequences than any in our history since the days of Washington—it seemed to us all that with the death of McKinley and HANNA this stupendous and illustrious era had forever closed and the volume of the record thereof had been completed for all time.

HANNA, HOBART, AND M'KINLEY, THE GREAT TRIUMVIRATE

How mighty, how magnificent, how thrilling, and yet how tragic, the pageant beheld by the American people since that day, only seven years ago, when McKinley,

Hobert, and HANNA first stood up in this Capitol to be crowned with the greatest political honors the greatest Republic of the world ever bestows. McKinley, Hobart, and HANNA, a mighty triumvirate of patriots, only seven short years ago here in our midst, encircled by the great men of our nation, full of life and joy and hope, the crowned conquerors in a tremendous political contest, the recipients of the plaudits of many millions of enthusiastic friends, happy in the wide prospect of almost unlimited power, inspired with great plans for the welfare of their party, the good of their country, and the happiness of mankind, the circumambient air balmy with the breath of millions of spring's fairest flowers, and the heavens reverberating with the applause of countless multitudes of men, the music of many martial bands, and the thunder of cannons shouting their approbation.

What a sublime event! Grand and spectacular enough to have drawn to it the spirits of our patriot dead. And now where are these three choice statesmen of our country and our generation? Where are McKinley, Hobart, and HANNA? Gone, gone—forever gone; gone like the sublime pageant that ushered in their inauguration—

> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palace:
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind

But time continues, the seasons come and go, seed time and harvest follow each other in orderly succession, the Republic of our love survives, the same God who has cared

for us since the days of Washington still keeps watch and ward over us, other great men are raised up to take their stand in the field of action and to occupy their seats in the halls of council; and the eagle of Columbia soars and circles triumphantly above the Dome of the nation's Capitol, with unruffled feathers and steady wing, in an unclouded sky, bathed in the golden light of that sun he loves so well, his eye sweeping to every confine of the Republic, and his cry of supremacy challenged by no nation in all the world.

HANNA A NAPOLEON IN POLITICAL WARFARE

Senator HANNA was a politician, but a politician in the largest sense. He brought to politics the practical methods of business. He organized his party as it was never organized before, and it was this organization that brought victory to his side. And when we consider that this organization covered a continent and embraced 45 States and 70,000,000 people, we have some slight conception of the magnitude of the undertaking.

So marvelously fitted was he by nature and by training and by inclination to head the great army of protection and sound money in the tremendous conflict with the legions of free silver and free trade that he seemed created and commissioned and inspired for the leadership. Truly—

> We are but as the instruments of Heaven;
> Our work is not design, but destiny.

The battle waged by the contending hosts in 1896 was the most stupendous ever fought in the political world. Senator HANNA'S opponents numbered over 6,000,000 voting men, all active, patriotic, and enthusiastic Americans,

drilled by captains skilled in political warfare, marshaled for the conflict by veteran leaders, and captained by a political Henry of Navarre whose energy was sublime, whose confidence seemed inspired by a destiny, whose splendid personality fired his followers with an enthusiasm akin to frenzy, and whose talents and genius magnetized all who met or heard him.

For four months the battle raged. Forty-five States, some of them equal to nations in territory and population, were the battle fields, and a whole continent the general theater of operations. From Lakes to Gulf, from river to mountain, from land to sea, and from ocean to ocean the war of the mighty conflict resounded.

The forces of Bryan raged and flamed far and wide like a prairie fire, and nothing seemed able to stay the irresistible conflagration; the forces of HANNA moved forward like tremendous ocean waves, sweeping all before them and beating down all opposition. The advocates of free silver came rushing on like the tempestuous tornado of torrid climes, crushing everything in its fury; the defenders of the gold standard withstood the shock as the mountain withstands the tempest. The champions of free trade, like the guards of Napoleon at Waterloo, charged at the close of the battle with an enthusiasm and valor that no human army seemed able to resist; but the phalanxes of protection, like the invincible troops of Wellington, held their ground with an endurance and a courage seldom equaled and never surpassed in political warfare.

THE ANIMOSITY IN THE CAMPAIGN

As in ancient warfare the main struggle was to slay the chieftain in command, so in this battle every effort was made to destroy this champion of protection and sound money. Ten thousand venomous slanders were hurled at him; cartoons without number were fired at him; the heaviest political artillery, loaded to the muzzle with the most destructive ammunition, poured upon him a ceaseless cannonade, and millions of political squibs, torpedoes, popguns, and firecrackers made a deafening uproar whenever his name was mentioned or wherever he appeared on the field of action.

In that tremendous conflict wherever he was there the fight was hottest and the thunder of combat the loudest. Leonidas at the pass of Thermopylæ, fighting almost single handed against the countless hosts of Persia, was not more fiercely assailed than was HANNA in the tremendous battle of 1896.

But amid the sulphurous storms of calumny, the fierce lightnings of invective, and the fearful thunders of denunciation; amid the incessant and fiery assaults of editors and cartoonists; amid the hissing shafts of invective and the ponderous maledictions of mighty orators, hurled amid immense crowds with mighty shouts of approval, and reinforced by the most malignant resolutions, vociferously and unanimously adopted, MARK HANNA stood—

> Like Teneriffe or Atlas unremoved—

and in no degree disconcerted or dismayed, serenely issuing his orders to his lieutenants, or issuing encouraging

bulletins of the progress of the battle in distant parts of the field.

> As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
> Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
> Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
> Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

Some one has said that free thought is commonly understood to be the right to freely express our contempt for the thoughts of others, and Goethe has said that all the Germans gained by the freedom of their press was the liberty of abusing each other as much as they liked. And so in our country, those men are loudest mouthed in claiming the right of free speech who are foulest mouthed in misusing that right.

In politics misrepresentation, vilification, abuse, and travesty, cartoons, caricatures, and scurrility are so common that many have come to regard them as legitimate, and some consider them essential, while not a few look on a political campaign without these accessories as dull, flat, stale, and unprofitable.

Having been given the leadership of his party in two great Presidential campaigns, Senator HANNA made no complaint when assailed by every form of speech, song, picture, and print that political ingenuity could devise or partisan prejudice concoct.

When reviled, he reviled not again. He heeded not the assaults of his antagonists. He was blind to the cartoon and deaf to the defamation, devoting all his thoughts and all his energies to the education of the people in the issues of the campaign, carefully pointing out and mile marking the road to prosperity and the pathways of peace and plenty.

HANNA'S GRAND TRIUMPH OVER CALUMNY

But when the battle had been fought and won; when people of all parties, on a nearer and fuller view, had better opportunities to study and understand this great party leader, this omnipotent campaign manager; when his private record had been all searched, and found so bright and so blameless; when it was found that the mud of slander thrown at him did not stick, that the arrows of malice did not wound, that the charges fired at him had but ended in noise, and that, like a mighty warship coming out of the storm and the battle and the breakers unharmed into the port of safety, with flags of triumph flying and the bands of music playing the tunes of victory and of joy; when it was seen that HANNA, like good gold, was only the brighter for the rubbing he had received; when his manifold acts of charity and benevolence became better known; when his earnest and persistent efforts to aid the laboring men of the nation to secure a larger share in the fruits of their industry began to be considered, and when, last of all, his beautiful devotion to William McKinley won for him a better hearing and a more considerate judgment; then the storms of prejudice that had thundered about him began to disappear; then the arrow of malice was put back into its quiver; then the missile was dropped by the hand that held it; then the cartoonist threw away his pencil, and the mouth of the accuser was closed, and lo! the world beheld in MARCUS ALONZO HANNA one of the world's best and greatest men and one of nature's noblemen.

General Grant, dying on Mount McGregor, no longer the

target of political opponents, no longer breathing an atmosphere foul with slander, no longer belittled by hired cartoonists, no longer exposed to the poison-tipped shafts of irony and invective, but dying in perfect peace, in an atmosphere sweet with fragrance of flowers and the breath of a holy and universal sympathy, beloved by the hundreds of thousands who had fought under him, honored and respected by the hundreds of thousands who had fought against him, reverenced by all men, of all parties, and of all sections—Grant, dying on Mount McGregor, had not more completely lived down all personal and political hostility than had MARCUS A. HANNA, dying at the Arlington, amid the lamentations of the mighty nation he loved so well and had striven so hard to serve.

Senator HANNA was clean in his politics. It is said by his successor, Senator DICK, that none of the money spent by him in the great McKinley campaign was used for corruption. He kept no slop trough to which the swine of politics might resort. His aim was to fill the head of the voter and not his stomach; to reach the voter's heart through his head and not through his pocket. "Millions for instruction, but not one cent for corruption," was his motto, and the campaign of education he conducted by pen, pencil, press, picture, and preacher was the most remarkable in magnitude and effectiveness this country, or any country, has ever known.

HANNA THE CHAMPION OF THE PANAMA ROUTE

Next to his success as a captain in great political battles, Senator HANNA will be best remembered for his championship of the Panama Canal. In consequence of the

French ownership of the Panama route and the contracts between the French owners and the Republic of Colombia, our country seemed shut out from the Panama route, and we were consequently forced to look up another route for our canal.

Then it was that we turned to the Nicaragua route, and we had almost determined to construct our canal on that route when Senator HANNA, with surprising resolution and powerful argumentation, and almost unaided and alone, stood forth as the champion of Panama; and such was the force of his arguments and so convincing the facts he arrayed in behalf of his contention that he succeeded in having Panama brought into consideration; and he finally won a triumphant success in having the Panama route selected and acquired.

Never in our history has one man ever won a more signal victory. Solitary and alone he began the battle, and when the friends of the Nicaragua route came rushing on with triumphant shouts and in irresistible numbers, HANNA, undaunted, stood in their way, and by his courage and persistence, by his logic and zeal, and especially by the great influence he wielded with the head men of the nation, he stayed the almost unanimous sentiment in favor of the Nicaragua route and succeeded in having Panama chosen in its stead.

More than three hundred years ago that great navigator, Sir Walter Raleigh, told Queen Elizabeth that the nation owning Panama held "the keys of the world," and Senator HANNA, by having the Panama route selected, secured for our country "the keys of the world."

And when the Panama Canal shall have been completed, and the marriage of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans finally consummated, after being separated since the foundation of the world, when the ships of all nations pass through I hope their sailors may behold upon the heights of Culebra, halfway between the seas, the statue of MARCUS A. HANNA, rising like a Titan, both arms outstretched, one pointing toward the Atlantic and the other toward the Pacific, and inscribed on the statue's pedestal in electric letters these words:

Behold the two oceans which this canal, like a marriage bond, has united and made as one.

Senator HANNA was a lover of his country, and gave evidence of this by joining the Federal Army in the great struggle for the preservation of the Union, and was one of the men assigned to the defense of this city and participated in the battle at Fort Stevens in July, 1864.

HANNA A LOVER OF HIS FELLOW-MAN

A man who loves his country necessarily loves his countrymen, and Senator HANNA gave many evidences of his good will for his fellow-man and was constantly engaged in works of benevolence and deeds of charity.

While worth millions of money, while a Senator of the United States from one of our greatest States, while forced by his position and associations into the constant company of the rich, the great, and the famous, Senator HANNA never forgot that there were poor men and poor women and poor children in the world, never ceased to remember the humble toilers in the mine, the mill, the factory, and the

field, and his great heart and great mind were deeply interested in plans to better their condition and make happier their lives. And he often said he would rather harmonize labor and capital, rather devise a plan whereunder the employer and the employee might cooperate with mutual good will and mutual advantage, than to be President of the United States; and the last years of his life were devoted to the solution of this stupendous problem.

He was one of the founders and the chairman of the National Civic Federation, a society formed for the purpose of reconciling differences between large corporations and their employees, using the Golden Rule as their motto and law of action; and great was the good he had done and was doing at his death, through this federation, as well as by his individual efforts. Well might he have said with the Roman poet—

Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto—

"I am a human being, and nothing that concerns a human being is a matter of unconcern to me."

The labor organizations of the United States had learned to trust him, the labor leaders were in constant consultation with him, and the philanthropists of the world had begun to concentrate their attention upon him as the man most likely to solve the problem of labor versus capital to the advantage and satisfaction of both. And when Senator HANNA died there were no more sincere mourners at his grave than the laboring men of our country; and truly might there be inscribed on his tombstone:

Loved by the poor and honored by the great.

The great plans he had formed for the revival of the American merchant marine, for the reconciliation of labor and capital, for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, and for the perpetuation of American prosperity he did not live to carry out; and when he died all of these great questions lost a powerful champion and a zealous and effective friend. To all of those interested in the happy solution of these problems he was a veritable tower of strength, a—

> Tower of strength,
> Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew.

We failed fully to realize how great and good a man he was until he died, and then we were appalled by the magnitude of the vacancy made by his death. Verily, he was a colossus in politics and in statesmanship, and for generations his mighty proportions will be the standard by which political greatness will be measured; and also for generations will he be pointed to as an example of how a man can be great in politics and in statesmanship and great in business enterprises and commercial ventures and great as the friend of the poor, the helper of the humble, and the benefactor of charity—all at the same time.

But the curtain has fallen upon the scenes of his activities. The pall of death hides him from our view. He has become a citizen of another world, and all that is left for us is to remember his splendid deeds, to love him for his goodness, to honor him for his greatness, and to emulate the magnificent example he has left us. The prosperity of our country is his monument and the words of a nation's gratitude is his epitaph.

Address of Mr. Morrell, of Pennsylvania

Mr. Speaker: Inasmuch as the characteristics and trend of mind of the late Marcus A. Hanna were a revelation and a subject of wide comment to men of all classes in the State which I have the honor in an humble capacity to represent, and having been in touch with both of the interests which his thoughts, advice, and actions most vitally concerned, I shall venture to say a few words in his memory.

Perhaps no other State in the Union is so prone as Pennsylvania to what is called "strikes;" no State in which labor organizes and fights through strikes for what it considers its rights; no State in which, on the other hand, capital as determinedly opposes what it considers unjust demands on the part of labor.

It might, therefore, have been supposed that with these problems always before them there would have arisen among the men of Pennsylvania one who would perhaps have offered some practical suggestions toward their solution, but it was left to the State of Ohio to produce such a man in the late Marcus A. Hanna. He more nearly than any man up to his time had approached the solution of this, the greatest problem which an industrial nation like the United States has to face, and I believe that had he lived he would have suggested a method which would have satisfied both sides.

Therefore, Pennsylvania and Pennsylvanians owe much to Mr. HANNA in bringing them to realize the possibilities of a solution of the greatest problem which faces the economic conditions of their State.

Senator HANNA'S greatness lay in his simplicity of character and the truthfulness of his soul. He treated great subjects with the same directness of thought that he did small, and believed that they were as easy of solution as small ones were the same principles of honesty and conviction applied.

Senator HANNA'S great purposes and broad policies are borne tribute to by the measures he advocated and brought to success; his great qualities of mind by the high regard in which he was held by the great men of the hour; his nobleness of heart and affectionate nature by the thousands of rich and poor, high and low, who either came to his bier to pay visible tribute or mourned in their hearts at home.

It is the kindly acts which a man performs to those who are struggling on a lower plane which I think really proves true kindness of heart, for it is always comparatively easy for a great man to do a favor for another great man.

In this instance let me relate an anecdote. We all realize that the position of a new Congressman is not, as a rule, one to be envied. He comes here to Congress having promised greater or less things to his constituents, and he finds—what each one of us found—that he does not amount to much, except to make up a quorum or to swell the vote by answering to roll call. I don't think a new Congressman ever forgets those who were kind to

him, or gave him a helping hand during his days of initiation.

Now, there was a certain new Congressman, not from Ohio, who had to go over to the Senate on a certain occasion to try to induce his Senator to give his support to a measure in which some of his constituents were interested. He was not at all sure as to whether or not the Senator would give the support he desired, and his anxiety was increased by his unsuccessful effort to find the Senator. As he was hurrying through the Marble Room, looking on this side and on that, he suddenly heard a genial voice call out, "Won't I do as well as the fellow you are looking for?" and turning around he saw Senator HANNA seated on a sofa beside a friend, but with a hand held out to him. His fears vanished and his confidence in his purpose returned.

No better example could be found of Senator HANNA'S character—always ready and even looking for opportunities to do a kind act.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, men may come and men may go, and yet this busy world of ours still goes on; but we can, one and all, concerning MARCUS A. HANNA, join in exclaiming: Oh, for the touch of the vanished hand (of friendship), and the sound of the voice (of encouragement) that is still!"

There is a set phrase to the effect that "some achieve greatness, others have greatness thrust upon them;" but, after all, the only greatness, to my mind, worth having is that greatness which comes as a tribute to love and sympathy shown by a man to his fellow-men.

We are told that "as we brought nothing into this world,

so we can take nothing out." That may be true as far as material things are concerned, but can we really say that Senator HANNA took nothing with him, when the word of his death took joy from the hearts of thousands and left a nation in mourning?

And if it be so that "as ye have lived so shall ye be judged," how great are the rewards we may confidently believe were awaiting him in the land beyond the skies.

Address of Mr. Calderhead, of Kansas

Mr. Speaker: I count it a privilege to say a word in memory of my friend Senator Hanna. Living in the same faith and hope, with the same purposes in life, and the same segard for the great citizenship in which we live, and the same belief in the Divine purposes of this great nation, I bring my tribute to his life and services.

His character was not made in a day. One of his ancestral race said, "There's many a hard stroke goes to the making of a man." If I could tell my boys the story of his life, it would be the story of an American boy who went barefoot to an American district school, and then to the academy, and then to work, and then to business. And he played the same games and recited the same lessons, and learned labor and toil in the same way that American boys who become men have played and learned.

Trained in the stern old faith that God is the eternal God to whom we must answer for duty performed or duty neglected, he fought over and over again the battles of the soul that every true man must fight and must finally win. Truth and honor and fidelity became the constant attitude of his mind and soul by the constant exercise of these great things. No man who had not acquired strength and endurance of soul by these battles with himself could have stood the conflict of life that came to him in the

years of his public career as he stood them and won the victory he won.

But his great victory over adverse public opinion was not his greatest victory. His later years were so associated with his friend President McKinley that the men can hardly be separated in our minds. When we think of one we habitually think of the other. Both of them lived and labored to carry forward the divine purpose of humanity. Both came from the common American homes, from the common American schools, from the common American business life. Both had the same standards of home life and duty, and the same standards of public life and duty.

McKinley was a widow's son, a schoolboy, a student, a citizen volunteer soldier, a lawyer, a member of Congress, a governor of his State, and then President of a great nation of free people. When he died and was carried to his grave the whole busy world stopped its busy work while his body was lowered to its grave. "The Czar in his palace, the Kaiser in Berlin, King Edward in Denmark, the Duke of York in Montreal, all members of the governments in their offices, the workingmen in their factories, the people in the streets, trains and cars on their tracks, steamships at sea and boats on the rivers, all public buildings, stores, and places of amusement, the entire machinery of mankind, came to a stop and stood still in silence while he was laid to rest." He had conquered the world by his character.

When Senator HANNA lay dying, at every place in the world men inquired from hour to hour, and the hearts of mankind bowed when the final message came. His body was carried into the Capitol of the nation and into the

Chamber of the greatest legislative body in civilization. The Senators and Representatives of our National Congress stood around his bier. The Supreme Court of the United States, the greatest court in the world, came and stood uncovered beside him. The President and his Cabinet and the commanders of our Army and Navy stood beside him. The diplomatic corps, representing fifty-three nations of the earth, stood beside him. The eloquent Edward Everett Hale said the words of farewell and consolation and hope, and laid his character, like a benediction, upon us.

Both these burials were the testimony of mankind to the character of the men whom Liberty's nation has given to the world. Christian mothers trained them both. How gentle their lives are making us. What kindly, earnest, strong standards of life they have given us, and how imperceptibly and unconsciously we are following their standards. The glories of our victories in the late war with Spain are almost forgotten in our memories of these men. The influence of their lives spreads over us all and inspires us with the faith that "love, honor, courage, fidelity, and a noble self-sacrifice are better than life." This is their victory over us. They have won our hearts, and their memories live to instruct our boys. And beyond the veil, they are with the Redeemer, in whose faith they lived, and labored, and loved. "It is God's way; His will be done."

Address of Mr. Adams, of Pennsylvania

Mr. Speaker: I have never been thoroughly in harmony with the custom of holding memorial services on deceased Members, for I think the best record a man can have is that of what he has accomplished during his service in Congress. While, however, the custom of paying tributes still continues, there are times when friendship and admiration for a friend compel one to say a few simple words to the memory of the departed.

Others who have had the great privilege of knowing the late Senator Hanna longer than myself have fully testified to the great ability, honesty, and kindness that pervaded all his business relations during his long and successful career. He was one of the few of those citizens who having amassed a competence, instead of continuing to roll up riches, recognized the fact that every citizen owes an obligation to our Republic in return for the great privileges its citizenship has conferred upon him.

Indeed, sir, in my judgment one of the few dangers that may threaten our form of government in the future lies in the fact that so many of our citizens become so engrossed in their personal affairs that they utterly neglect the obligation that the right of suffrage has imposed upon them. But Senator Hanna was not of that class. Our country would be under everlasting obligations to Senator Hanna if for nothing else than for his great work in bringing about

the nomination and election of William McKinley. Surely that is enough of fame to make a man live forever in the history of his country, but MARCUS A. HANNA felt that he owed something to the Republic and that his duty was not completed with that work. At much personal loss and inconvenience he consented to come to Washington to represent the people of the great State of Ohio in the National Senate. I doubt, sir, if any man of whom our histories speak in the short space of seven years ever acquired such great influence in the legislative body in which he had entered or by his work there gained such abiding faith among all classes of society as did Senator HANNA. He entered upon his political career somewhat hampered by the undeserved prejudice growing from ill-founded innuendo that his political methods were founded on a pecuniary basis, and that he would be unduly favorable to trusts and other large business corporations.

In the struggle between capital and labor Senator HANNA took an active but impartial part. His unanimous selection to be the head of the National Civic Federation, designed to promote better relations and peace between capital and labor, showed the estimation in which he was held by both parties to this organization. Indeed, it is known that he was so wrapped up in the development of this idea that he said he would rather resign from the Senate than to give up his interest in that work.

In the Senate of the United States his influence daily widened. Of whatever subject he advocated he first mastered the facts and details and then presented them without any effort at oratorical effect, but in a plain

business-like statement, marshaling his facts and thrusting home his argument in a most powerful and convincing manner. Probably no greater change of sentiment in Congress or in the minds of the people was ever wrought by a single speech than that following the remarks of Senator HANNA on the question of the selection of the route for the isthmian canal. The idea seemed to be accepted as an axiom that the Nicaraguan route was the American route, and that the French selection of Panama had been a mistake and a fallacy. But in spite of these existing prejudices Senator HANNA convinced the Senate of the United States that they were not founded on facts and secured the selection of the Panama route. Nor was his influence limited to that branch of Congress of which he was a member, for, in spite of the fact that the House of Representatives by an almost unanimous vote had decided in favor of the Nicaraguan route, it promptly reversed its judgment and joined with the Senate in indorsing his views.

But, Mr. Speaker, Senator HANNA'S fame will rest more largely upon his intimate friendship with and as the recognized counselor of William McKinley during the trying times and most serious events of his great Administration. The names of these two great and good men will be indelibly linked in the writings of our country's history. They were of the same time, of the same mind. Their dispositions were similar in many respects—calm in judgment, slow of movement, but resolute to the last when decisions had once been taken. I can not close, sir, without paying my personal tribute to the kindly nature and warm heart of the

late Senator HANNA. His consideration for men younger than himself was most pronounced, and his heart and his head were always ready to aid when appealed to for advice or sympathy. His was a nature so genial and kind that his memory will ever live in the hearts of his friends, and his fame will ever last in the records of the nation.

Address of Mr. Lacey, of Iowa.

Mr. Speaker: We commemorate to-day the public life and services of Marcus A. Hanna, whose great and useful career has so suddenly terminated.

His political life was exposed to the fiercest attacks, but he outlived calumny, and died loved and honored even by those who fought him the hardest.

The world has always loved the man who does things. He ranks far above the man who only says things.

In 1896 Mark Hanna was the best hated man in America.

Libel and the deadly caricature had been plied against him with persistence and telling effect, and he was thoroughly and effectually misunderstood, even in his own party, save by those who knew him personally.

It was well said of Sir Joshua Reynolds by Northcote that the great painter would as lief have committed a forgery as to draw a caricature.

When finally Mr. Hanna took the stump in person and demonstrated that he could talk as well as act, the people looked into his clear, honest eyes, listened to his strong, vigorous, and sound logic, and the frozen crust of hate melted, and he was at once valued at his true worth; the myth disappeared and the man took its place. I remember in 1896 when I was speaking to an audience of workingmen they hooted at the name of Hanna.

Four years later the same men welcomed all allusion to his name with thunders of applause. He had become recognized as the friend as well as the employer of labor.

His life, public and private, has been so well described by his friends in both the Senate and the House that I content myself with this brief but loving tribute to his memory.

He was my friend. To love and hate the same things constitute the strongest bond of human friendship.

In the maturity of his powers, when his ability and character had become so recognized that his usefulness was most helpful to the cause and country that he loved, he fell.

We mourn him and commend him to that Being—

> Who in the dark and silent grave,
> When we have wandered all our ways,
> Shuts up the story of our days.

Address of Mr. Grosvenor, of Ohio

Mr. Speaker: In the very few moments I shall occupy I shall not attempt to discuss the great characteristics of Senator Hanna. I will only refer very briefly to some of the salient points of his career and contribute to the record more elaborate suggestions in the same direction.

I did not know Senator Hanna well until he became connected with the activities of Ohio politics. He had been a member of our State executive committee, or an advisory member, for a considerable number of years before the public outside of the State came to know him. I indorse all that has been said in regard to the unselfish character of Senator Hanna. He never entered politics for any selfish purpose. He never remained in politics for a like consideration, and he never sought personal preferment until the time came when that alone could become a vindication due to his own party and the dearest friend that he had within the lines of that party. He believed thoroughly in the principles of the party to which he belonged. No man ever more faithfully stood by the tenets of his party, and no man ever was clearer of any purpose of halting or compromising or apologizing for anything that he believed to be a true doctrine of political rights.

Senator Hanna was a reader and student of politics. He did not, as many have supposed, grasp every idea without studious consideration and careful weighing of arguments

pro and con. He was a student of theories illustrated by practical facts. To the theories of the writer and the speaker he applied practical everyday common sense, of which he was a storehouse. It was these qualities that made him so powerful as a business man. Theories were to him only suggestions; practical facts were to him the demonstration of the falsity or the truth of theories.

Senator HANNA was a warm supporter of John Sherman for President of the United States; and, though I have not seen it adverted to since his death, it was a fact within my own observation and the knowledge of many others who are here, that he opposed the attitude of Mr. McKinley in one of those grand State campaigns, and having cast in his lot with Sherman, notwithstanding all his affection for McKinley, he did all in his power to prevent the breaking up and disintegration of the Ohio delegation, even though McKinley, acting under the instruction of his friends at home, cast his vote in the convention for James G. Blaine.

Senator HANNA about that time or shortly afterwards became warmly attached to McKinley; and that attachment grew to be one of the most beautiful exhibitions of love between two men that I have ever witnessed. He believed in McKinley. He had seen the rise and progress and growth and development of that splendid character. He had lived in the immediate section of the State where McKinley resided and had known him as a young lawyer. I remember an anecdote that he told me in the presence of one who knew the facts, how McKinley came down to some of his coal mines, where some riotous coal miners had been prosecuted for riots, and McKinley defended the

miners and assailed the management of the mines. Senator HANNA said that was the first time that he ever felt the full appreciation of the possibilities of McKinley.

From time to time, as the campaign of 1896 developed, it was currently reported that HANNA would be benefited in some way by the election of McKinley. I want to contribute this much to the history of those times, with which I was thoroughly familiar: I personally know, and there are others who know the same thing and from the same source of knowledge, that immediately following the election of 1896 President McKinley tendered to Mr. HANNA formally a position in his Cabinet; and I remember distinctly the answer that HANNA made, although I did not see the letters that passed between them.

He said that it would appear to the people of the country that he had been selfish and self-seeking in the matter of his strong support for McKinley, and he preferred the character and reputation of a disinterested friend of Mr. McKinley's to any office that McKinley could give him; and it was not until McKinley had tendered, in writing, the place of Secretary of State to Mr. Sherman and it had been accepted by him that HANNA yielded to the suggestion that he should be a candidate for the United States Senatorship, and then he did so at the urgent personal request of McKinley, who said that if he could not have him in the Cabinet he desired that he should be a member of the Senate. Thus it was that it came to our knowledge that he was not a self-seeking politician, but was a disinterested friend, first of McKinley and next of the success of the great party to which he belonged.

It was a chapter in Ohio politics that I do not intend to enter upon, to which reference has been made by some of the gentlemen who have preceded me. I do not want to recall, except for the sake of the justice of history, the events of the year when HANNA having been tendered and having accepted the position of Senator, having been nominated by the overwhelming vote of the State convention, was almost defeated for election. I refer to it now to say that, notwithstanding all the bitter denunciation of HANNA and his friends incidental to that great contest and that chapter in Ohio politics that brings the blush of shame to every man who was connected with the treachery of that hour and day, after all the calcium light of these months and years has been turned upon him, there was no stain of corruption or dishonor placed upon the skirts of HANNA.

I know it has been said that office was conferred for favors among the members of the State legislature. That is true; that is a part of our politics; that is incident to the politics of our country. And there was no man who more firmly believed and more religiously practiced the tenet of remembering his friends and standing by them than did HANNA. And a man who does not do that is not fit to be in politics. The man who will falter when his friend's hour of trouble comes ought to have no friends when his trial is on. That is the religion of American politics, and he who does not obey it is not fit to be a member of the great body to which an American citizen belongs.

I never heard Senator HANNA complain of a man who tried to betray him in that contest; and you have heard how he stood up and pronounced an almost tearful eulogy

over the man who of all other men owed him allegiance and betrayed his duty.

When HANNA had served in the Senate and sought the approbation of his fellow-citizens in Ohio by reelection, then he became an earnest seeker for the office, not because he desired that office for selfish purposes, but because he was determined that his friends should not suffer by reason of his having been a candidate.

I do not care to refer, in the brief moment that I am to use, to that which has so often been referred to by others—the abuse and traducing of HANNA in the newspapers and throughout the country. It is a very curious study; there is no other picture like it in the history of mankind, except our account, our knowledge, our belief in the character of Him who spoke of himself as being "despised and rejected of men," and who has since become the great and adorable central figure of Christianity.

But, without any purpose of comparison, when, in all the history of mankind, was it that a man so thoroughly hated, thoroughly despised, thoroughly condemned by 99 per cent of all the people of the United States—not all of them hating, but every one of them suspicious—died in a very few short years at his post of duty covered with honor and acquit of dishonorable characteristics by an equal per cent of all mankind? How he did it I do not know.

That Senator HANNA felt keenly the abuse of himself we all know who knew him. That he suffered intensely nobody who knew him can doubt. A Senator has said since the death of Senator HANNA that on one occasion HANNA exhibited to him one of those infamous cartoons,

born of the malice of a corrupt man, and shed tears over it. And there are a number of us who can state how repeatedly he said: "If I believed there was any possible justice, any possible reason, for all this, I would not shrink from bearing it; the grief that comes to me," said he, "is not on my own account, but because of the regret and sorrow that is felt by my friends."

It will not do at the end of a career like that to say that "no honest man need be afraid of slander." One honest man has lived it down; many have, but here is a conspicuous example of one who lived down the basest organization of slander ever hurled at a man in American politics and emerged from it with honor and credit.

But that does not answer the just criticism of mankind. Here was a man of distinguished life, pure in his social, political, and business relations, sound as a dollar upon every question of manhood; and yet for the purpose of destroying McKinley, whom they knew slander could not affect, because he was too well known, a vicious conspiracy of crime and slander and libel and detraction was organized and hurled at MARCUS A. HANNA. If they could destroy HANNA, the most important spoke in the wheel would be broken; and utterly regardless of every principle of humanity, every suggestion of decency, every inspiration of honor and integrity, they drove straight at the mark of ruining MARCUS A. HANNA. They did not cease with 1896. They proceeded to permeate the whole country, and little children looked with horror upon the libelous publications that were made. Such a crime as that can not be atoned for by a cowardly retraction when the victim is dead. But it is said

he lived it down; he became great; he became honored; therefore there has been no harm done. Here is one victim who lived it down; here is one victim who, after years of faithful struggle, got the better of his libelers.

How many have fallen under the stroke of slander! How many have been driven away from the effort to live down libels and slanders! That is the place to look; not at that one man who has outlived and grown above the shaft of envy and ill will and crime. The question is, how many have failed to do it? How many hearts have been wronged, how many tears have been shed, how many honest men have suffered, how many wives have shed tears, how many children have fled in mortification from their fellows? That is the way to estimate the work of the libeler—the criminal libeler—the man who stalks in the community with the poison that he exudes and tarnishes the very name of Christian civilization. To what extent has his work been done? Never, until the great God above issues the decree that shall fix his punishment, will the exact value of his career be known.

Mr. Speaker, I can not pursue the subject further. I loved MARCUS A. HANNA. I never knew a man whom I admired more greatly than I did him. I never knew a man who rose so rapidly. And yet there were reasons for it and characteristics that make it not strange that he rose. But it is a wonderful history that in six years' time a man can come from obscurity, so far as public office is concerned, and enter the Senate of the United States and make the profound impression upon that great body and upon the country that he did.

I have no time for detail, but we all remember how enthusiastically we, here in this House, by an overwhelming majority, following the lead of one of our greatest men, the Chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce [Mr. Hepburn], who so enthusiastically championed the Nicaragua Canal, we all remember with what enthusiasm we sent the bill to the Senate, and how we understood that when it reached there four-fifths of the Senate would be on our side, and yet how a single Senator, by the force of his training and his education, his character, his power of research, seized upon his knowledge of the situation and ultimately revolutionized the whole action of the Senate and received the cordial approbation of the House; and now, to-day, as we stand here eulogizing his memory, the news is just flashed into print on this side of the ocean that the great achievement has been wrought out and that the title, indefeasible and unassailed, in the Panama Canal has become ours.

Senator HANNA was most happy in his home life, and it was here at his home and at his beautiful residence on the lake shore near Cleveland that the true qualities of genuine humanity and chivalrous gentlemanly attributes shone out so brightly. His wife was a lady of most excellent fitness to be the companion and friend of HANNA. Strong in mental qualities, able, and attractive in all the graces of the female character, she stood by him through his life with the devotion of a true wife; made his home at his hearthstone the citadel of love and rest; shared in his triumphs; contributed to all that made him great, and wept over him with the just consciousness that in no respect

had she fallen short of her great duty as a charming and faithful wife.

Shortly after the Death of Senator Hanna I received a very beautiful little eulogy in verse of the Senator, which I take great pleasure in appending to my address:

MARCUS A. HANNA.

(And King David said unto his household, Know ye not that there is a Prince and a Great Man fallen this day in Israel. II Sam., 3d chap., 38th verse.)

I.

Again, a Prince has fallen in the fight—
The val'rous Champion of the truth and right;
Determined, honest, level-headed, just—
Who broke no promise, nor betrayed a trust!
His genial face with courtly kindness beamed—
By friends beloved, by all mankind esteemed;
He led his cohorts at the people's call—
Himself the Noblest Roman of them all!
He gained the iterance of their reverend cheers—
And won his battles with anointed spears!
The people mourn him! Words are hard to find
To aptly voice the anguish of their mind;
From the mute mourners halting phrases come—
Grief is never deeper than when 'tis dumb!

II.

No name of mortal is secure in stone—
But in some worthy deed, and that alone;
Hewn on the Parthenon, it will fade and waste—
Carved on the Pyramids, it will be effaced!
The pomp and pageant, and the pillared pile—
The sculptured arch, the bronze, not long beguile!
And now, while wailing church bells sadly chime—
Upon his brow I place this wreath of rhyme,
So that in other years it may appear
How true he was, how gracious, how sincere!
How wept, how honored by the friends he loved—
Ennobled of himself—by all approved.
Peace to his manly soul and sweetest rest—
With that Glad Throng Whom Love of God has Blest!

DAVID JAMES EVANS.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have leave to print in the Record eulogies in commemoration of Mr. HANNA, and that the resolution in his case lie on the table until the conclusion of the other eulogies which are to be pronounced.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOEBEL). The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Grosvenor] asks unanimous consent that general leave to print eulogies upon the late Senator HANNA be granted. The Chair hears no objection, and leave is granted.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Now, in pursuance of the resolutions already adopted, and as a further mark of respect to the deceased Senator and Representatives, the House stands adjourned until to-morrow, at 12 o'clock noon.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 26 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned.

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